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THE PRECEDENT OF SAVOY.

WE have never doubted that our Government have done substantially right in the question of Savoy. Had Sardinia been despoiled against her will, the laws to which all nations owe their independent existence would have been violated, and all nations would have been bound to lend their aid to the victim against the aggressor. But Sardinia consents to her own spoliation, believing it to be for the good of Italy that she should do so. She gives her ancient domain, as she gave a Princess of her house, to purchase a great advantage for the nation of which she is now the head. She immolates half a million of subjects, as she immolated a daughter, to appease the powers of evil. We cannot pretend to prevent her making the bargain she thinks fit to make. We cannot even pretend to say that the bargain she makes is not a good one, or that she is not placed under a necessity so overwhelming as to save her honour from the stain which the abandonment of the very hearth of her dynasty would otherwise bring upon it. As to the interests of England in the matter, they are those of Constitutional liberty alone. And the gain to those interests by the whole transaction is so immense that we should be ill-advised indeed to imperil it for the sake of avoiding a comparatively trifling loss. Constitutional liberty has to deplore the annexation of the people of Savoy, against their wishes, to the domain of that tyranny which, under the shifting phases of despotism, terrorism, and imperialism, it seems to be the fate of France to represent. But Constitutional liberty has at the same time to rejoice over the accession of a great part, and the impending accession of the whole, of Italy to the brighter and happier domain. The counsel of the leader of the Opposition, who rails at the Government for not abandoning Central Italy, is worthy of the orator who used to inflict upon the House declamations in defence of the partition of Poland and the character of the Holy Alliance. It may be found that there is a degree of subservency to absolute Courts too degraded even for the Tories of a Constitutional country. We have frequently wished, in the course of these negotiations, that England had not at the head of her Government a guest of Compiègne. But when we look to the opposite benches, we feel that on this, as on other questions a change had better be deferred until change is likely to be improvement.

While, however, England acquiesces in the annexation of Savoy, it is all-important to apprehend clearly the grounds of her acquiescence. The *Times* would lead Europe to believe that we know that we are wronged, but that we know also that we are impotent; that we would interfere if we dared, but that we dare not interfere—that we would expostulate further, but that our expostulations would be to the strong aggressor as the howling of the wind—and that, in short, we find it best to put our honour in our pocket and follow the dictates of fear, styling itself, as usual, common sense. We are not surprised that, in attempting to adorn such a thesis as this, the *Times* should be deserted even by its wonted literary power. The true reason why England does not interfere is, that no wrong has been committed which she is entitled to resent. The only parties wronged are the people of the ceded Provinces, whose rights are in the keeping of Sardinia, not in ours. Sardinia is a voluntary party to the transaction. We are not touched. The mere aggrandizement of France, internal or external, furnishes no ground for interference, though it may for apprehension and precaution. There is, therefore, nothing in our conduct on this occasion to which cowardice, or Quakerism, can point at any future time as a precedent for submission to high-handed wrong or for abandonment of the national honour. There is nothing which derogates in the slightest degree from our clear obligation to take arms in the common cause of nations in case an attempt

should be made—as one day the attempt will be made—to extend the French Empire by force to the Rhine. The difference is not merely wide, but infinite, between non-interference in a free, though disgraceful and nefarious bargain, and cowardly submission to any sort of injury done to the humblest in the community of European nations. We could even wish that our Ministers had wasted their ink less in expostulation. Expostulation, in such a case as this, is suggestive of impotent anger, and it will not fail to be so represented to the French nation. The veteran PREMIER can scarcely have been sanguine enough to believe that he would be able to recal his friend to a sense of moral dignity and honour. The more impressive course would perhaps have been simply to have ascertained that Sardinia was acting under no compulsion, and to have stated to the French Government that the voluntary character of the act on the part of Sardinia was the reason why we did not interfere. In public, as in private life, it is best to reserve the bark till it is required to explain the bite.

The nations of Europe are now in the case in which they have been more than once before, and in which other groups of nations have been when threatened by the ambition of a great aggressive Power. It is their part to take care that they do not repeat the melancholy experience of the past. Cowardice and indolence are always too fruitful of sophistical reasons for not lending a hand to put out the fire when it is only your neighbour's house that is in flames. We have already heard from the French portion of the English press protests against our interfering in case the French EMPEROR should think fit to "chastise" Germany for showing a determination to defend her own independence. Prussia looked on at Austerlitz, having entirely satisfied herself that she was not called upon to act, and having received the most conclusive assurances from "a faithful ally" that she would never be herself placed in the slightest danger. Austria, more pardonably, looked on, in her turn, at Jena. How little did Russia, when she bartered away the interests of Austria, Prussia, England, and Spain, foresee Borodino and Moscow! What excellent reasons had each of the States threatened by LOUIS XIV. for slipping out of the confederacy, or leaving its allies to bear the brunt of the contest! To go still farther back in history, how prudent and sensible did each Grecian State seem to itself in refusing to accede to the league against Macedonia or Rome till it was too late! The advantages which a vast despotism like France has over a multitude of separate States for the purpose of aggression are infinite. LOUIS NAPOLEON understands them well. His policy has been, from the first, to sow jealousies, embroil the different Powers in war, and isolate them from each other. This policy is not prevented from being further successful merely because it now stands detected. To prevent it from being further successful, the various States which are threatened must enter, if not into a formal league for mutual defence, at least into a practical understanding, and at once show front together. We have a great danger in the midst of us, against which it will, for the present, be the single object of all rational diplomacy to guard. A powerful nation has been led, through a chain of causes which we need not now rehearse, to disregard all moral, all religious, all political, all intellectual objects of national aspiration, and to devote all its energies to aggressive war. We must look this fact in the face, and meet it coolly but manfully as we would a terrible visitation of nature. Like the visitations of nature, it will pass away, if we have only the resolution to deal properly with it while it lasts. The formidable force which France acquires by her cruel conscriptions and her lavish war expenditure is spasmodic and transient. Her population diminishes, the sources of her wealth languish, her debt accumulates, the military despotism which wields her power in so concentrated a form is, at the same

time, sapping the national spirit, without which there can be no lasting power. We have to deal, not with the Revolutionary Republic, but with the second Empire. Any soldier will tell you whether the conscripts of Solferino fought like the volunteers of Arcola. A few years of constancy and union, and the period will arrive of collapse for France—of deliverance from danger for her neighbours. Then a long vista of peace, liberty, progress, immunity from standing armies, secure enjoyment of the fruits of labour, may open for the world.

Meantime, there is one thing which we presume, after the annexation of Savoy, Imperialists and peace-mongers will not deny. They will not deny that to place implicit confidence, henceforth, in the word of LOUIS NAPOLEON would be pushing generosity to the extreme limit permitted by wisdom. Let us grant that the annexation of Savoy to France is required by the laws of physical nature, and that, if the French EMPEROR would only allow the vote of the people to be taken, it would be clamorously demanded by the Savoyard population. Let us grant, as to this and all the proceedings of the French EMPEROR in Italy, all that Imperialists can assume. Let us even soar on the wings of fancy with an Imperialist poetess, and suppose that the disappointment of the hopes of Italy in the Peace of Villafranca, and the proposed restoration of the Grand Dukes, together with the subsequent intrigues in favour of a French satrapy in Tuscany, were necessary concessions on the part of an heroic and almost divine being to the meanness of an unworthy and calumnious age, incapable of comprehending its master mind. Still the fact remains, that the French EMPEROR advanced to the possession of Savoy through a long and very complicated train of that which hero-worshippers style the morality of heroes, and ordinary mortals call perfidy and falsehood. A solemn disclaimer of any desire for territorial aggrandizement, or for any but moral influence, was the notification the world received of a plan, then undoubtedly formed, for grasping a new province, and getting hold of the passes of the Alps. The allegation that the reluctance of the people of Savoy to have their country dismembered is the reason for not paying the respect that had been intended to the claims of Switzerland, crowns a pile of falsehood perhaps unparalleled in the history even of French diplomacy. When LOUIS PHILIPPE played a similar game to bring about the Spanish marriages, no names were too bad for the crime of the intriguing monarch, or the credulity of those who had trusted his professions. But LOUIS PHILIPPE was a vulgar Constitutional King, and to tax him with perfidy, and warn Ministers against a blind confidence in his intentions, was perfectly safe, legitimate, and inoffensive to the French nation. LOUIS NAPOLEON is a dazzling usurper, surrounded by a grand halo of violence and blood. Say a word as to the necessity of comparing his professions with his interests, and regulating your dealings with him for the future by your experience of his past conduct, and you have the Minister down upon you on the instant. Nevertheless, we hope that members who never visit Compiègne will occasionally repeat their offensive warnings. Such warnings may be very disagreeable to Ministers obstinately bent on their French intrigue, but they may prove of some value to the world.

THE REFORM BILL.

IF the success of the Reform Bill depended on the opinion of the House of Commons, its fate would be prognosticated with sufficient clearness by the adjournments of the debate. On Tuesday, Mr. BERKELEY was allowed to deliver himself of his threadbare jests on the Ballot without any expression of discontent on the part of the House. Lord JOHN RUSSELL himself proposed to proceed with the Income-tax resolutions on Thursday; and it was only in deference to a technical ruling of the SPEAKER that he fell back on the renewal of the tedious question whether the constitution of the country should be changed. It is true that there is little interest in a debate which is not to end in a division; but almost every possible speaker is hampered by conscious insincerity, and intimidated by the unknown and unwelcome constituents on whom he must depend for the future. When it became certain that CHARLES II. would be restored, or, at a later period, that the House of Hanover would ascend the throne, moderate dissidents prudently forbore from challenging the hostility of a power which they were unable to resist. The new 6l. and 10l. sovereigns in the boroughs and the counties will be sufficiently factious, jealous, and in-

tolerant, without any provocation to punish their former opponents. As Lord JOHN RUSSELL and his rivals have imposed a gratuitous revolution on the country, it is probably desirable that it should not be preceded by an irritating contest. The bitter indignation which is excited by the vanity and cowardice of political leaders is sufficiently nursed by the almost unanimous opinions which are expressed in private conversation. Some injustice is perhaps done to the narrow and restless author of the new Reform agitation; for Lord JOHN RUSSELL, in a certain sense, believes in the expediency of a measure which may, as he thinks, secure his popularity and power. His colleagues and predecessors in office have deliberately violated their own convictions for the purpose of conciliating or baffling a competitor who was supposed to have the power of ejecting any Ministry. Lord DERBY had the opportunity last year of reinvigorating his party, through simple adherence to the very principle by which it was favourably distinguished from the Liberal body. Under the inspiration of Mr. DISRAELI, he condescended to mimic the popular dialect, and it was generally felt that, if reform was to be carried at all, it properly belonged to those who, by a strong effort of imagination, might be, to a certain extent, regarded as its genuine supporters.

Mr. DISRAELI, having declined to oppose the second reading, was at liberty to make one of those perverse speeches which may be thought ingenious by partial admirers, as they probably seem to himself philosophical and profound. Masculine understandings find in political paradoxes only an amusement of the same order with that which is furnished by other oddities of thought, of manner, or of language. Any person who possesses somewhat more than ordinary quickness can teach himself to say, on every possible subject, something which is peculiar because it is unexpected and eccentric; but original thought, in nine cases out of ten, follows the track which is or will be beaten by the multitude. Deliberate oddity is sometimes founded on the very commonplaces to which it bears a dependent relation of purposed antagonism. The Reform question has, to all practical intents, only two sides which are worth maintaining. The assertion that the constitution will be strengthened by the extension of the franchise to a lower class is as intelligible as the proposition that elevation of thought and motive will not be attained by a descent in the social scale. Mr. DISRAELI, while he denounced Lord JOHN RUSSELL's simple plan for the deterioration of the constituencies, affected to boast that his own last year's project would have placed a still greater number of electors on the voting list. It may be true that the "fancy franchises" would have been in some respects more equitable than the test of a 6l. rental; but there is an error, into which more serious speculators than Mr. DISRAELI have fallen, in the belief that it is practicable to extend the franchise except for the purpose of degrading it. The multitude who supply the only motive power to a Reform measure would consider any distinctive or personal right of voting as an aristocratic contrivance, and those who might not disapprove of the admission of more intelligent voters have, with abundant reason, held that it was better to let well alone. The enfranchisement of lodgers which Mr. DISRAELI suggests would, in some towns, admit a new inundation of working men; and the educated men who happen not to live in houses of their own are generally indifferent to the possession of a vote. In the days of scholastic conflicts by Acts and Opponencies, Mr. DISRAELI might have easily found the prescribed number of syllogisms in support of his assertions that there were not boroughs enough disfranchised, or that Lord JOHN RUSSELL's policy is unconsciously mediæval, and at the same time inconsistent with feudal precedents. The House of Commons may blame itself for tolerating a measure which supplies material only for idle dialectics.

Mr. BRIGHT, with ironical candour, informed his unwilling accomplices that their timid concessions will not purchase a suspension of the Reform agitation. The Bill will, in his opinion, at once settle the Church-rate question, the Ballot question, and all other points which have long been in issue between contending parties. Such an argument addressed to an assembly which was about to reject the Ballot by a large majority was probably employed as a taunt rather than as a recommendation. The perfect harmony which unites Mr. BRIGHT with Lord JOHN RUSSELL is doubly satisfactory when it is illustrated by the complaint that a vast majority of adult males will, even under the new arrangement, still be excluded from the franchise. Expe-

rience only can show whether the hopes of the agitator, or the affected confidence of the conventional Reformer, will be justified by the result. The salutary influences of education and property are still so widely operative, that a Conservative party, following any other leader than Mr. DISRAELI, would probably at this time be in possession of office. The proposed concession to democracy will induce the bulk of the manufacturing capitalists to fall back on some party organization which may offer a hope of steady resistance. Mr. BRIGHT may perhaps experience some personal disappointment, but, sooner or later, the extension of the suffrage will facilitate more revolutionary changes.

The best speech against the Bill was delivered by Mr. MASSEY, and the only plausible argument in its favour was contributed by Mr. BAINES, from the statistics of Leeds. Some of the objections to the 6*l.* franchise would be partially obviated if it could be shown that the new electors were the natural leaders and primary representatives of the working classes. A relative aristocracy of almost any description is preferable to an indiscriminate mob. In London, a system practically equivalent to household suffrage has given the absolute control of elections to the most worthless and unfit portion of the community. The social circumstances of the manufacturing towns may possibly, if Mr. BAINES is in the right, supply some corrective, never contemplated by Lord JOHN RUSSELL, to the mischievous tendencies of a measure which originated in personal and factious considerations. The intention of the Bill is to multiply Marylebones, and any accidental advantage which may be conferred on intelligence and honesty will have been wholly unforeseen. Of the views and political wishes of any portion of the working classes it is difficult to speak with confidence. In many instances, a little learning has filled them with political and economical heresies, and if they constitute Mr. BRIGHT's applauding audiences they must be singularly prone to envy and hatred of their superiors. The counterbalancing qualities and aptitudes of the 6*l.* householders, whether they exist or not, certainly by no means command the confidence of those who are about to enfranchise them. An overwhelming majority of the House of Commons consider that the Bill is unnecessary, and pernicious in its tendency. Not one member in twenty affects seriously to believe that the country will be better governed, the finances more wisely administered, or the public policy more elevated and stable, when the constituencies approach more nearly to the character of a rabble. Mr. GLADSTONE's fiscal devices have revived the well-founded alarm which was created by Mr. BRIGHT's menaces of a system of confiscation applied to realized property. The total disconnexion of taxation from representation constitutes the most imminent of many perils which are to be apprehended from the vanity of one statesman and the interested timidity of all his contemporaries.

THE STATE OF NAPLES.

THE concluding despatches of the Neapolitan Correspondence have been published in the newspapers, and we can add nothing by comments to the indignation which they have called out. Not more than once before in modern history has there been such a display of that peculiar impudence in avowing crime which makes the coolest blood boil; for this Catholic and paternal Government would be solitary in its confessions of lawlessness if the principles it professes had not a pretty exact parallel in those proclaimed by the French Terrorists in the extremity of their delirium. There is, however, a ludicrous contrast between the beginning and the end of the papers laid before Parliament. For the first few pages we have the Neapolitan Ministers listening meekly to rather abrupt despatches from Lord JOHN RUSSELL on the subject of Constitutional liberty, admitting frankly the necessity of a change of system, acknowledging that the remonstrances of the English Government are well intended, and sometimes justifiable, and professing to attach the utmost value to the "moral" support of England. It is not until we are within one leaf of the end that we find these very same functionaries allowing that they are about to transport half-a-dozen noblemen on the reports of their spies, and treating as absurd the notion that they are bound to provide even such evidence against their victims as could be safely produced in a Neapolitan court of justice. This difference of tone has, of course, its explanation in the dates. When the correspondence opens, the Lombard campaign is in full swing. The Austrians were being driven back like sheep; all the Central Italian Princes had fled; there was open

talk of establishing a BONAPARTE in Tuscany, and a few murmurs concerning the chances of a MURAT in Naples. The KING and his Ministers were obviously in abject fear. But it is almost laughable to see how they recover themselves after the peace of Villafranca. By the end of September, they are sufficiently themselves to assure Mr. ELLIOT that any "change in the institutions of the country would be productive of revolution," and to state that "a discretion must always be left to the Sovereign to supersede the regular laws whenever he considers it for the public interest to do so." As 't becomes clearer and clearer that the war is not to extend southwards, bolder and bolder grow their disclaimers of justice and clemency, till at length they are apparently encouraged by the news about Savoy to believe that the reign of iniquity has fairly recommenced, and that they may venture to shock Mr. ELLIOT into silence by the cynical statement of their policy and principles which he transmits to the Foreign-office as recently as on the 3rd of this very month.

These papers have great interest, as showing exactly what a native Italian Government comes to when it takes the course which is the only possible alternative to the policy of VICTOR EMMANUEL. The KING of SARDINIA is to be excommunicated, or (according to Cardinal ANTONELLI) ought to consider himself excommunicated already, for not doing as the KING of NAPLES does. Long before the interests of the Holy See were directly menaced, the Ultramontane panegyrists of the POPE had selected Naples as a kingdom whose administration could not be censured without indirectly reflecting on the HOLY FATHER and the Church. The *Univers* in almost daily articles, Mr. MACFARLANE in his pamphlet, and Mr. BOWYER from his place in Parliament, protested against the statement that KING FERDINAND was a tyrant almost as vehemently as they might have done against the proposition that PIUS IX. was another BORGIA. They went all lengths in defending this pious, dutiful, orthodox Monarch, denying all they could venture to deny of the atrocities laid to his charge, and sparing nothing to argue away the guilt of acts which were patent to the world. The new correspondence makes short work of these apologies. In his brief experience of Naples, Mr. ELLIOT, our Minister, has seen and heard enough to justify half-a-dozen such pamphlets as Mr. GLADSTONE's, and to bear out to the full the popular impression. Some of his conversations with the Neapolitan functionaries are conclusive as to the last reign. They expressly assigned as a reason for their delay in amnestying political prisoners and relieving suspected persons from surveillance that the police registers of KING FERDINAND's time were in such utter confusion as to make it impossible for them to ascertain the sort or degree of the offences for which punishment was being undergone. In other words, accused persons were not only not brought to trial, but there was no intention of bringing them. The police did what they pleased, without even a record of their acts to serve as a check on them. But the admissions which absolutely sweep away the sophistries of the Ultramontanes are those made by General FILANGIERI and M. CARAFA as to the principles on which the kingdom of Naples is governed. To estimate the true bearing of those avowals, we must begin by assuming that, if there is any difference between this reign and the last, this reign is certainly the milder of the two. KING FRANCIS has not had, as yet, that success in defying public opinion which made KING FERDINAND actually take pride in his cruelties. General FILANGIERI has always enjoyed greater respect than any Neapolitan not belonging to the Constitutional party. He has been reputed to be both manly and gentle, and, as his resignation has just been announced, we may suppose that there is a point of oppression somewhere at which his susceptibilities rise in revolt. Yet this mild Minister, acting for a merciful King, lays down principles of unparalleled atrocity as the necessary basis of his system. The Neapolitan definition of a "Revolutionist" is a person "who desires changes in the institutions of the country, contrary to the will of the Government." The Neapolitan conception of law and order is, that the KING must always have a discretion "to supersede the regular laws when he considers it for the public interest to do so." The Neapolitan notion of justice is, that men may be deported on evidence which, "though sufficient to satisfy the Government, was not such as to procure conviction in a court of justice." It may be remembered that the whole controversy between Mr. GLADSTONE and his critics was as to proceedings in a court of justice. The Ultramontanes

asserted and argued that POERIO and his co-sufferers had had a fair trial. Mr. GLADSTONE and his informants gave a hundred reasons for the contrary opinion. But the dispute is now summarily resolved by the admission of King FRANCIS's Minister that his Government does not consider any trial at all as necessary before condemnation. It becomes, of course, quite superfluous to impeach the conduct of a criminal trial by the officers of a Government which affirms all trial to be an empty and unnecessary formality.

There is one passage in Mr. ELLIOT's despatches which conveys a lesson rather different from that suggested by their general tenor. Mr. ELLIOT appears to have spoken to the Neapolitan Ministers on the subject of the crusade against the Pope's enemies which the priests are preaching up, and they, with marvellous hypocrisy, seem to have acknowledged the violence of the clergy and to have pretended that it was unpalatable to them. Of the success of the ultra-Catholic agitation there does not, in fact, appear to be any doubt. The Constitutionals of Naples, though they include every man in the country who can make the most distant pretensions to education or intelligence, are still a minority, and it is more than probable that if the Peninsular portion of the Two Sicilies were polled by universal suffrage, the vote would be in favour of an absolute King and a Holy War against the Romagnese. The well-wishers to Italy who speak of the recent vote in Tuscany and the Emilia as if it added something to the Italian cause which was wanting before, ought to bear in mind the state of Naples. The chief difference between the policy of the expelled Sovereigns and that of the Neapolitan Kings was that the former trusted exclusively to Austria, and did not care to provide themselves with any other form of support. But the South Italian Bourbons took the further precaution of sedulously cultivating the ignorance and superstition of the lowest class of their subjects; and so successful were they, that if the verdict of universal suffrage is to be conclusive in disputes between Sovereigns and subjects, the Kings of Naples must at once, and at the very least, be admitted to have a higher moral position and a better title to their throne than the Grand Duke of Tuscany or the Duchess of Parma. The deeper our pity for the victims of the unheard-of oppression which is revealed by the Neapolitan Correspondence, the more cautious should we be in admitting assumptions which would go some way towards weakening their right to hold the just and moderate opinions for which they are so cruelly persecuted.

THE POLITICAL ASPECT OF THE DEFICIT.

NOW that Mr. GLADSTONE's plans of taxation and remission of taxes must be considered as finally adopted by Parliament, we may be permitted to express a hope that such a Budget will never be offered again. The vice of these projects is that they have plainly not been suggested by the circumstances of England at the time. Whatever were the French EMPEROR's motives for entering into the Commercial Treaty, the Treaty most assuredly was the final cause of the Budget. Some of the Ministers, in their eagerness to disclaim what would have been the crime of accepting the new French tariff as the price of Savoy, have admitted that Mr. CORDEN commenced his negotiations in complete ignorance of the general state of our foreign policy, and long before the question of Savoy had acquired seriousness. In other words, Mr. CORDEN concluded the Treaty, and left Mr. GLADSTONE to construct a Budget of which it was to be the kernel. No human being would, in fact, have hit upon such a fiscal scheme in the existing condition of the national finances, unless constrained by some external necessity. We owe to the sudden and unexpected opening of the French market both Mr. GLADSTONE's proposal to create an immense artificial deficit and the grand principles which he has laid down in excuse and defence of his extraordinary measure. The extreme breadth of the general rules which the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER chooses to lay down as the basis of his finance, is the surest of all proofs that his finance was suggested to him by somebody else. The fault of laying down axioms too broad for the conclusions which are to be supported is, in fact, a characteristic of skilful advocacy rather than of original genius. A mind of original research generally preserves a just proportion between its inventions and its arguments in their favour, but no such nicety is, of course, to be expected from an orator who aims at immediate persuasion. If Mr. GLADSTONE will give himself the pleasure of listening to a forensic exercita-

tion of Sir RICHARD BETHELL—the man in all England whose mind and gifts most strongly resemble his own—he will detect that the secret of the great advocate's success is precisely this expedient of heaping up broad premisses to form the foundation of a foregone conclusion. Just so, a listener observant of Mr. GLADSTONE's method will not have the slightest doubt that he, too, speaks from a brief.

The financial policy of the year has, therefore, a foreign origin; and, instead of springing naturally from domestic circumstances, it has seriously disarranged our home politics. The Emperor of the FRENCH, who has long wished to reap the profits of a more liberal, and yet not too liberal tariff, chose the past autumn as the time for negotiating a reduction of duties with Mr. CORDEN. The result of their conferences was the Treaty; the Treaty sent home to Mr. GLADSTONE produced the Budget; the Budget has dislocated party relations, and rendered the perilous experiment of a Reform Bill tenfold more perilous. The great majorities in favour of Mr. GLADSTONE's proposals are the first consequence of this inverted policy, and constitute a symptom far less wholesome than the triumphant Cabinet supposes; for, without proving any sort of addition to the strength of Liberalism, they show that the boon or bribe of a new market will always control a number of votes sufficient to overpower the weak resistance of the general public to hazardous adventures in finance and to minute forms of fiscal oppression. But the non-natural parentage of the Budget waits for next year before it issues in its most distorted results. We wonder whether the Reform Bill has yet sufficiently acquired the look of an actual and imminent reality for members of Parliament to have at last become conscious that they are handing over the government of the country to a section of its inhabitants never before enfranchised, and that they are at the same moment industriously creating an enormous deficit for the new Legislature to break its teeth on. It is almost laughable to think of the dangers of the time, and then of the stolid perseverance of the House of Commons in enhancing and extending them. Concerning the incoming constituency we positively know nothing, except that one fact established by the irrefragable evidence of figures—that it is large enough to overpower the old electors, to crush their interests, and to reverse their political bias. It may or may not be that the six-pound voters come in under the influence of the demagogue who has bid them go up and take the spoil. It may or may not be that they are properly represented by the only two politicians whom we can perceive to be acting as their leaders—by Mr. ERNEST JONES, about whom the chief thing known is, that he has a strong taste for the poetry of BYRON—and by Mr. WASHINGTON WILKS, whose sole title to distinction appears to be that he was once imprisoned by the House of Commons for libelling one of its members. But this, at least, is certain—that their theories, whatever they are, must be carried into effect immediately on their accession to power. A deficit renders this inevitable. It may be long before a new Government discloses its true tendencies when it assumes its dominion with a full exchequer; but, to cover a deficit, it must act at once with all its energies and with the light of all the knowledge which it possesses. The deficit brings the whole subject of taxation on the carpet, and the discussion of taxation involves the consideration of everything else. It is a rule of singular uniformity in modern history that great popular movements have for their cause or their pretext a demand for money. To point out that the Reformation, the English civil wars, the revolt of the American colonies, and the French Revolution had this for their occasion, may perhaps be pedantry, but to forget it is insanity.

The strength of Lord JOHN RUSSELL's Reform comes from its weakness. It is so utterly disdained that it is extremely likely to be carried. It is like one of those bad jokes which obtain currency because they are so extraordinarily bad. Men have laughed at it and carped at it till they have got into the most dangerous of all states of mind—a kind of humorous despair. There is positively a sort of wish for its being carried, just for the fun of seeing the outrageous surprises and disappointments which it is sure to bring forth. Some people chuckle at the prospect of seeing the Whig leaders turned out of their pet seats. Others are tickled with the notion of Mr. BRIGHT being treated like a knobstick at Birmingham, and of some Protectionist-Socialist Tory being returned by an overwhelming majority for Manchester. All this certainly may be very fine sport, but to our taste Mr. GLADSTONE has rather spoilt it. The tragedy will come unpleasantly soon after the farce. The absurdest

of Parliaments must meet not long after it has been elected; and when it has once begun to debate on the means of filling up the deficit, there will be no more laughing. No doubt there are influences which—only give them time to operate—will gradually tame down even Mr. POTTER of the Strike. Assemblies at Cambridge House and civilities from the whipper-in can perhaps break up a Chartist organization as easily as they made an end of the malcontents in Committee-room No. 11. But all this is matter of time; and time has been denied to us by our CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER. The Treasury will be empty of money, and the Legislature which has the duty of filling it will hardly have commenced its voyage before it finds itself steering with the beetling rock of the Income-tax to starboard, and on the other tack the boiling whirlpool of financial experiment. The enthusiastic admirers of Mr. GLADSTONE who have been comparing him to Mr. PITT on the strength of his French Treaty, may be left to explain the difference between the Pilot who weathered the storm and the Pilot who sailed right into the middle of it for the sake of verifying the newest scientific theory on the subject of Winds.

THE POSITION OF AUSTRIA.

THE annexation of Central Italy has been received by Austria exactly as might have been expected. She has not chosen to prevent it by force of arms, nor has she appealed to the Great Powers to defend what she considers the inalienable rights of herself and her ducal subordinates. She has also publicly declared that she will not meet France in the field if she can possibly avoid a contest. She has entered into an express engagement not to take the initiative in aggression against Piedmont. On the other hand, she marks her displeasure by intimating that she cannot hold diplomatic relations with the Court of Turin. She is, in fact, waiting to see what will turn up, and, for the present, is determined to hold her own firmly and not interfere with her neighbours. She makes no changes in her internal policy. She clings convulsively to Venetia, and she is deaf to all the entreaties of the Hungarians. At any moment her sullen indignation against Sardinia might turn into open enmity; and she could never want an excuse for a war. In the despatch announcing her intention to abstain from invading Central Italy she takes occasion to complain of the intrigues of Sardinia in Venetia. These Sardinian intrigues are not likely to cease. Every Venetian who wishes to share the happy fate of his neighbouring brethren in Lombardy is considered by the Austrian police as a Sardinian intriguer, and the whole population is therefore mixed up in the crime. But the question on which the immediate peace of Europe depends is not what Austria might feel inclined to do, but what she will do. The most conflicting conjectures are loudly announced. Some guessers announce that she and Naples will soon crush Piedmont; others think that she will soon be rent asunder by a great internal revolution, and the outbreak of a few enthusiastic students at Pesth has been accepted by a portion of the French press as "the beginning of the end." In calculating the chances of peace and of such a restoration of confidence as is compatible with the existence of the French Empire, it is of the greatest importance to get at the truth about Austria. If she is prevented from interference in Italy by fear of France, and if she can keep her own subjects from revolting, further complications in the state of Europe may be for a time suspended. Many things tend to inspire the belief that she is too exhausted and too vulnerable to provoke a foreign war, and yet that she is too strong to be in any serious danger from a Hungarian revolution.

After the peace of Villafranca, Austria appeared inclined to make concessions to Hungary. The Patent of September, bestowing a new religious organization on the Protestants, was a present after an Imperial pattern, but still it was meant as a gift that might be gratefully received. The Cabinet of Vienna had been heartily frightened during the war, and thought Hungary too dangerous a tool in the hands of a foreign enemy not to try to take a little of the edge off by a harmless and unimportant concession. The Hungarians, however, had had their hopes excited by the alliance of LOUIS NAPOLEON with their exiled countrymen, and they thought that their true policy was to accept nothing short of the restoration of their old Constitution. A strong national feeling showed itself, and demonstrations were made throughout the country. Austria allowed this to go on until the course of events in Italy convinced her that she must,

for the present, abandon all intention of active operations or political influence beyond the Po. If she could have governed Italy once more through the Dukes, she would have had to keep large bodies of troops in readiness to support her vassals, and then it would have served her purpose to smile on Hungary. But, directly she had come to the conclusion that she could do nothing more in Italy than entrench herself behind the Quadrilateral, she determined to press with her whole weight on Hungary. She has resumed all the arts, great and small, by which despotic Governments keep down turbulent subjects. She keeps a large armed force always ready, and she descends to the pettiest annoyances that a police practised in torturing on a small scale can suggest. The house of one of the first of Hungarian nobles has been broken open and his papers seized. A violinist has been forbidden to give concerts because he performed the national air. A singer has been imprisoned for chanting the praises of an article so detestably French as crinoline; and a journal has been warned for having described how a lady at a ball wore a veil of Magyar fashion. The Hungarians are obliged to yield. The wisest of them know that they have no hope in an appeal to arms. The insurrection of 1848 was on the point of failing at the outset, till GÖRGEY began the splendid campaign which carried him without a break from the Theiss to Komorn; and now the Hungarians have no arms. They are also without any centre of revolt. They know that if they are successful they must be severed from Austria. The history of 1849 shows that if they do not get a foreign Prince as Sovereign, they will pass through a republican anarchy to a military despotism. But it is a very difficult thing to conduct a revolution on behalf of an indefinite foreign Prince. The leaders of the Hungarians therefore counsel nothing but a passive resistance. They will not help Austria in the task of keeping Hungary down, but they will not give her the great advantage of a pretext for violence. Their countrymen are instructed to do nothing more than throw every possible difficulty in the way of the Government. They are to pay taxes as reluctantly and as late as possible. They are to cultivate the best possible relations with Croats and Servians. They are to decline every overture made by Austria for the creation of a representative Council intended to replace the old Constitution. But for open and direct action they are to wait until the signal is given by a foreign Power.

European revolutions have, in fact, entered on a new phase. Experience has convinced the dissatisfied that purely domestic outbreaks usually tend to the profit of the reigning power. An ally, with a recognised position in Europe and a standing and practised army, is looked on as the first condition of success. The insurgents have thus the great advantage of fighting under the shelter of veteran troops, of obtaining arms in abundance, and of keeping in abeyance the difficult question of the future Government of the country until its liberation has been effected. And at the very time when this lesson has become established in the minds of the revolutionary leaders, a Power has come forward to inspire a general hope that, sooner or later, foreign aid will not be wanting to those who have the disposition to revolt. LOUIS NAPOLEON is the great patron and head of the revolutionary party. It is for him that Hungary is waiting. The Hungarian leaders are determined to keep quiet until a French flag is flying at Pesth. They firmly believe that they will receive the direct assistance of France before long. They look back to the time when, after the victory of Wagram, NAPOLEON invited the Hungarians to declare themselves independent and elect a king of their own, and they expect that the invitation will be renewed by NAPOLEON III. They consider themselves as one great link in a chain of revolutionary States that France is to create and patronize, and which will extend from the borders of France to the eastern limits of Europe. She has already snatched Lombardy from Austria, and called the Danubian Principalities into a sort of national existence. Venetia and Hungary lie between, and Venetia and Hungary are ready to revolt whenever France permits them. The most noticeable fact of present Continental politics is this connexion of France under LOUIS NAPOLEON with the revolutionary party. On the one hand, it has changed the temper and the whole purpose of those who wish to revolt. They now trust not to insurrection, but to war, and the completeness of the organization by which all useless political manifestations have been suppressed since the Emperor of the FRENCH has brought the discontented subjects of his neighbours to look on him as their liberator, is most remarkable. On the other hand, the influence which

LOUIS NAPOLEON thus gains in Europe is daily increasing. He will soon hold Austria completely in his grasp. Two-thirds of the population of the Central State of Europe are gradually learning to look to France as the Greeks in the Ottoman Empire look to Russia. This is a much more serious danger to Austria, and to the general balance of power, than any that was threatened in 1848. And yet it is a danger that is much easier to comprehend than to guard against. It is impossible that the present dynasty of Austria should make any changes that would content Italy and Hungary, and minor concessions are rejected with contempt. All Austria has to trust to is the chapter of accidents. It is possible that she may last longer than the French Empire, and it is possible that LOUIS NAPOLEON may be kept in check by England or Russia. But these are very vague chances. What is certain is, that the great majority of the subjects of Austria are only waiting to revolt until France declares war, and that Austria evidently shrinks from meeting France in the field of battle.

MR. WILSON'S POLICY.

IF the telegraph and the *Times'* Correspondent are to be trusted, Mr. WILSON has commenced his reign in India with a stroke of policy the recklessness of which has scarcely been equalled by the most venturesome of our theorists at home. All sorts of opinions have been given by the highest authorities as to the character and amount of the force which is necessary to enable England to retain India. Among all the officers who were examined on the subject, scarcely any two were agreed as to the due proportion of European to native troops, or the total strength at which the army of occupation ought to be maintained. A force of 80,000 Englishmen, with at least double the number of natives, was about the average of the suggestions made to the Commission; and though the weight of military authority is considerably diminished by the startling conflict of opinion, and by the total absence of any intelligible reasons for selecting this or that amount of strength, there was one point as to which absolute unanimity prevailed—and that was that the safety of India could not be ensured by a garrison of 80,000 English troops without considerable assistance from native levies. There are very obvious reasons for preferring a European to an Asiatic army, notwithstanding that every white soldier costs three times as much as a Sepoy. But the objection to the project of maintaining an exclusively English army in India, which has hitherto been pronounced insuperable, is that we have not got the army to spare, and that we cannot, without too serious a drain upon our population, keep up anything like an adequate force to hold so extensive and so disaffected a country. Mr. WILSON's scheme (for, strangely enough, the project of military reorganization seems to be ascribed to the financial Minister) is said to be to sweep away at one blow, substantially, the whole of the native army, and to try the experiment of holding India with an army of only 80,000 men. Of course, it is always easy for a civilian to attempt a military feat which every General in the service would pronounce impracticable. And if the experiment should result in disaster, we shall have the satisfaction of knowing that our Indian Empire will have been imperilled, and perhaps lost, on the soundest financial principles.

Even without falling back upon authority at all, it is scarcely possible to doubt the utter insufficiency of the army which it is proposed to maintain. India has at least five times the population of the British Isles, and much more than five times the area. Now let any one imagine an army of 16,000 men scattered over all the military posts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and he will have some slight idea of the kind of garrison which Mr. WILSON would allow for the protection of India against enemies within and without, against rebels, robbers, hill-tribes, and native contingents—to say nothing of possible collisions with restless Asiatic neighbours. An army of much less than 80,000 Englishmen might probably march through Asia without encountering a serious check, but it is one thing to win a battle and another to hold a province. If it were possible for England to furnish, and for India to pay, an army strong enough to guard against every contingency, no one would hesitate, after the experience of the last few years, to join Mr. WILSON and the *Times* in demanding the total abolition of the native levies. But it does not follow, because 80,000 is the largest English force which Mr.

WILSON can see his way to pay, that therefore one soldier for every 2000 inhabitants will suffice to maintain an alien despotism in a state of reasonable security.

It is easy to ridicule the military system by which India has been won and held, by representing it as a plan for keeping a native army to garrison the country, and an English force to protect the Government against its native troops. There is a great deal of truth, and very disagreeable truth, in such a picture. But, faulty as the scheme may be, the defect is inseparable from the government of a vast Empire by the people of a small island. Even the mutiny, which is justly pointed at as the strongest argument against maintaining overgrown native armies is itself an illustration of the value of such a resource. But for the enormous levies raised in the Punjab, Delhi would never have fallen; and every European in India would have perished before adequate reinforcements could have arrived from England. It was only by the aid of native troops that we were able to make head against the tide during the most critical period of the insurrection; and the Bengal army, which caused the mischief, itself supplied us with officers to command the Sikhs and Ghorkas whom we summoned to our aid.

Of course it will be said that, but for the existence of a pampered army, the mutiny would not have occurred. Perhaps not; but will any one assert that a popular insurrection is impossible in Oude, or Hindostan, or even in the Punjab, or that disturbances in protected States and attacks on our Northern frontier are casualties too remote to be thought of for an instant? India must indeed be changed if this is so; and though it is quite possible that we may, in times of tranquillity, dispense with a large proportion of our native troops, it seems of vital importance to retain the power of largely increasing our military means upon the first approach of danger. This can only be done by keeping up at all times a considerable native force. The *Times*, with happy confidence, declares that 80,000 soldiers will be an ample garrison for India, and that native levies can be raised without the least difficulty in the hour of need. But if the Bengal, and Bombay, and Madras establishments were swept away, the facility with which we can add to the strength of our native auxiliaries would be almost wholly lost. There would be no source from which to draw Englishmen for the command of any irregulars or other levies which it might be necessary to raise; and, if we could spare the Sepoys, we certainly could not dispense with the officers of the Indian army. Possibly, the method at once the most economical and the least hazardous would be to retain a native army of moderate strength, so strongly officered as to render the organization of fresh levies a comparatively easy and rapid task. But, whatever may be the arrangement which will best reconcile financial and military necessities, Mr. WILSON's proposal to denude India of troops, in order that he may be able to exhibit an annual surplus, is the most alarming piece of news which has arrived from Calcutta since the suppression of the mutiny.

If anything could add to the rashness of the experiment which the Calcutta Government is supposed to contemplate, it would be the choice of such a time as the present for the venture. The natives of India are told in the same breath that our military defences are to be reduced almost to nothing, and that taxes of unparalleled severity are about to be imposed. The poorest huckster is to be forced to take out a license to trade, the ryot is to have his scanty means reduced by an excise on tobacco as heavy as the existing tax on salt, and the wealthier classes are to undergo the infliction of an Income-tax at exactly the percentage to which Mr. GLADSTONE has just induced this country to submit. India must unquestionably be made to pay for its own Government; and however burdensome the necessary taxation may be, the most insane philanthropist would hesitate to ask the people of England to bear the expenses of the people of India. But the justice of a heavy tax does not always make it palatable, and when we are announcing a very serious increase in the public burdens of the country, common prudence seems to require that we should not deprive ourselves of the power to enforce instant obedience to our decrees.

A more definite account of Mr. WILSON's financial statement may soon be expected; and it is possible that the anticipations of the telegram may prove to be overcharged. The statement attributed to Mr. WILSON, that the deficit of the ensuing year was estimated at 9,000,000*l.*, is itself sufficient to throw serious doubt on the accuracy of the report. According to the calculations which Lord CANNING sent home in the course of last autumn, the expected deficit

was under 4,000,000*l.*; and unless the Indian CHANCELLOR has been adopting Mr. GLADSTONE's rhetorical artifice of creating an imaginary chasm to show how cleverly he can fill it up, it is certain that there must be some error in the accounts which have reached us. The project of easing his own financial difficulties at the risk of more serious military dangers is unfortunately too much in harmony with the views which Mr. WILSON propounded before his departure to encourage much doubt as to the general character of his policy. But the details, when they arrive, may perhaps tone down the sketch which has preceded them. In any case, it is scarcely credible that authority should have been given to a mere financier to settle the military system to be introduced into India; and it may be presumed that the annihilation of the native army will not be allowed to be carried into effect without the sanction of the Home Government. Should the project be approved of without qualification, Sir CHARLES WOOD will no doubt feel himself obliged to give some better reasons for believing in the soundness of Mr. WILSON's military dispositions than any that have yet been invented. But the machinery of the Indian Council must indeed be a farce if it does not prove sufficient to prevent so hazardous an experiment as that which Mr. WILSON is said to have proposed.

BALLOT.

LORD TEYNHAM deserves the credit of having hit upon a new historical argument for the introduction of the Ballot. He appeals to the experience of Venetian prosperity, and he states a fact which will be new to the coming SISMONDI—namely, that the Republic of Venice lasted for 1300 years. Moreover, he infers—and ANDREW MARVELL is brought in to vouch for the marvel—that the flourishing state of Venice was the result of the Ballot, which secured in its administration perpetual economy and public riches. It is new to us that the Republic of Venice was the model of a Constitutional State—new to us that it was other than the closest oligarchy—new to us that it possessed a representative Chamber of Commons; but it is not new to us that it was worked by a system of delation, proscription, and Lion's mouths. If we are to reproduce Venice as the result of the Ballot, we must have the Venice of history; and we hardly think that the precedent will recommend itself to Lord TEYNHAM's Chartist friends. We had thought, in our ignorance, that for five centuries a certain Council of Ten—consisting, in practice, of the most hateful tyranny that ever oppressed a people—was the ruling institution of Venice, and that this close oligarchy suppressed the Great Council of the nation. If this is the result of Ballot, we are rather thankful to Lord TEYNHAM for pointing out the connexion between tyranny and Ballot. But we must charge his Lordship with something like an historical fraud. What he meant to argue was, that Venice had a constitutional system, that its members were chosen by popular suffrage, and that such suffrage was taken by Ballot. Venice never had a constitutional system, never had popular representatives, nor was Ballot used for the election of its legislators. Ballot was not a Venetian institution, though it did exist in Venice. Towards the end of the thirteenth century it was introduced, and it lasted to the end of the Republic, for one purpose alone—that of the election of the Doge—and with the curious object of mixing the principle of mere chance with that of free choice. If Venice is to be appealed to, we may as well know the cumbrous and complex forms of the Venetian Ballot. From the Grand Council thirty members were taken by Ballot, and these, by Ballot, were reduced to nine. These nine nominated forty provisional electors, who were by Ballot reduced to twelve—which twelve, again, nominated twenty-five. Ballot again reduced the twenty-five to nine, who, as before, nominated forty-five, again by Ballot reduced to eleven, who, as before, nominated forty-one—which forty-one at last elected the Doge, each of them having power to nominate a candidate, and then to canvass the merits of the nominees. That is to say, the electors finally produced by this wonderful process were generated by five ballots, five nominations, and five scrutinies. These electors, till they came to a final choice, were magnificently entertained at the public expense—a feature of Ballot which Lord TEYNHAM is to be blamed for not having enlarged upon, and which we recommend to the notice of Mr. ERNEST JONES and his friends. It is quite true that there was a sort of popular assembly in Venice, the Great Council—though this was but a

short-lived institution—consisting of 480 members; but these 480 were appointed by a sort of select vestry of twelve, which twelve were representatives of the wards of the city, and were elected by popular suffrage. But the suffrages of the people were not given by Ballot. So that the result of Lord TEYNHAM's Venetian example is, that Ballot was not used to elect a Representative Council, but that it was used in a Representative Council to elect a President. The instance is as much to the purpose for which it is produced as his other Parliamentary example of the House of Commons balloting for places at the bar of the House of Lords, or for berths in a steamer to see a naval review.

Ballot must be at its last shifts when it takes us to the lagunes of Venice, and suggests the agreeable reminiscences of the *Piombi* and the sanguinary faction-fights and judicial murders of the model State founded and aggrandized, as we are told (but untruly told), upon the rock of Ballot. And this is the actual condition of the Ballot question. It is taken out to air once a year, in order to give Mr. BERKELEY a caper on his hobby-horse—and a very dull caper he made of it on Tuesday night—and it is retained as an article of faith by doctrinal pedants; but it is no longer a practical question. Lord TEYNHAM himself is forced to draw the distinction, which it has taken a long time to learn, between Ballot and secret voting. We are no longer, as was the fashion ten years ago, ordered to consider the two as equivalent terms; and this change of language shows that faith in the nostrum has worn itself out. America and its precedent are now openly abandoned. Ballot in America, as both Lord TEYNHAM and Mr. BERKELEY admit, is no longer secret, but has degenerated into mere voting by ticket. Lord TEYNHAM does not want this. Nor does he ask for the Victoria system. There the Ballot is secret, but upon a scrutiny the vote is discovered. What stronger argument can be produced against it than that, where it has had the freest range, it has been in practice so modified that its original meaning has been lost? It has been tried, and practically given up—only the name survives. But "it has succeeded in France." The answer is, that when our electoral body is like that of France, perhaps we shall view it with the same complacency with which it is viewed in France. But to attain the like success, and the like excellent results which in France have come of it (the present Empire, for example), our electors must have passed through that happy training which has made France fit for the Ballot, and the Ballot so especially suited for France—a view of the social and political future of England which Lord TEYNHAM must earnestly pray to see realized. But what he does want is the Australian Ballot—minus, of course, the Victoria variety—because that has been eminently successful. Successful for what, we ask? We know what the Ballot is wanted for in England. It is to reassure the doubting and timid voter for conscience' sake; it is to protect the poor trembling tenant from the intimidation of landlords and agents; it is to break down the influence of the great houses and county families; it is to prevent bribery and coercion. How notorious it is that these are the rampant evils of Australian society! Lord TEYNHAM and Mr. BERKELEY are, of course, aware that the social condition of Australia is precisely parallel to that of Great Britain, and that there are the same evils at work in both communities—the same landlords, the same bribery system, the same dockyard inquiries, the same Man in the Moon. These, no doubt were the monster evils in Australia which Ballot has destroyed. The Duke of NEWCASTLE, to be sure, was unscrupulous enough to say that the condition of society in Australia and Great Britain was totally different—that there were neither the same defects nor the same interests in the two countries; and therefore he was so dull as to think that the same system might not produce the same effects under political circumstances the exact opposite of each other. But then the Duke of NEWCASTLE is a mere Colonial Secretary, and only reads Colonial history in stupid archives and despatches; while Lord TEYNHAM develops a history, ranging from the Adriatic to the Antipodes, out of his own consciousness.

We are thankful that the whole controversy has come to this practical level. Formerly the discussion had to sail over the broadest latitudes of theory. The advocates of the Ballot are now, however, brought down to prosaic facts, precedents, and results. We might, in an earlier stage of the discussion, have felt it necessary to show that the theory of Ballot was directed not only against the influences of bribery and intimidation, but really against all influences,

however legitimate. Canvassing itself, and the friendly discussion of the claims of competing candidates, ought to be prohibited, if influence is, as the advocates of Ballot argue, to be excluded from an election. At any other time than that at which Lord TEYNHAM has brought the discussion down to its nadir, we might have been tempted to argue that every year decreases the intimidated and cowering classes for whom the appeal is lodged; and, were that branch of the argument now open, we might have ventured to say that in 1860 the timid, shrinking, bullied elector is about as scarce as a bustard. Did any human being, in railway carriage, or in omnibus, or at the market table, ever meet with the oppressed and terrified victim of the proud man's contumely—the ideal elector for whom the Ballot is so much required? We have often met with the man of large and capacious charity who wanted the Ballot for his neighbour; but a mastodon is not scarcer than the man who frankly owns that he wants Ballot for himself. Or we might have said that, if the Ballot ever was required, it certainly is not required now, when we are on the eve of a large and (whether hazardous or not) a most material augmentation of the constituency. But from all these tedious and theoretical arguments we are released by Lord TEYNHAM's very practical way of enforcing his theme. He gives up the discussion on the theory, and asks us only to look at practice. He says that Ballot must be a good thing because it has been adopted in America—though he forgot to add that it has been abandoned there after a year's trial, as the Duke of NEWCASTLE reminded him—and in France, and in Australia, and in Venice. We gladly accept the issue on these grounds. Let Ballot be tested by its American, Australian, Venetian, and French results. To be sure it has been rejected in one of these chosen homes, and in another so modified as to be no longer secret; in the third it never existed for the object in view here; and in the fourth it certainly does work—that is, in France. We acknowledge that Ballot is a French institution and a French success. But even were we to admit that in each and all of these countries Ballot was a success, we must also be prepared to get the right soil for the tree of liberty; or, in other words, we must make England an America, an Australia, a Venice, or a France, to secure the like admirable results of Ballot.

THE BANKRUPTCY BILL.

EVER since men have been prone to spend more than they have, and to speculate with other people's capital, legislation has been employing itself in vain in the attempt to find some satisfactory mode of dealing with traders and others who are unable to satisfy the demands of their creditors. Amendments, re-amendments, and consolidations of bankruptcy law have followed each other at regular intervals, with the unfortunate result of leaving the law, in the estimation of the public, a shade worse than it ever was before. The subject, of course, like every other, has its practical difficulties, but the cause of all previous failures has been, in great measure, the wilful disregard of some very obvious principles; and the most hopeful feature of Sir R. BETHELL's comprehensive reform is its recognition of a few simple maxims which have been steadily ignored in every statute which has been passed upon the subject. When a man has not the means to pay his debts, all that can be done for his creditors is to take the remaining property of the insolvent, and divide it as quickly and at as little cost as possible. It is a question partly of humanity, but much more of policy, whether a debtor, whose estate has been cut up and parcelled out among his creditors, ought not to be allowed to begin the world again, discharged from further liability for his bygone debts. Quite apart from any feelings of compassion for a man who may have been more unfortunate than dishonest, experience has long since proved that it is not for the interest of creditors to keep old claims hanging over the head of a discharged insolvent. It scarcely ever happens that creditors get anything at all out of the property which an insolvent acquires after passing through the Court. On the other hand, those who would give up all they had, when first they got into difficulties, if by so doing they could free themselves from future liability, are kept by a severer code from consenting to a division of their property until there is no property left to divide. If there were nothing to be considered but the interests of creditors, the simple plan of taking and distributing whatever an insolvent may happen to have, and setting him at liberty to commence a new career,

would be the beginning and the end of a rational bankruptcy statute. The anomalies of the old law, if they have been of no other service, have served to establish the soundness of this principle beyond all possible cavil. By dividing the community into traders and non-traders, and applying one rule to the one, and exactly the opposite rule to the other class, a very decisive course of experiment has been carried on for years—the result of which proves, that while respectable dividends are sometimes to be got out of a bankruptcy, an insolvent never goes through the Court until he has run through his means to the last shilling. In theory, creditors have all his future earnings to look to; but, in practice, what they get averages, as nearly as possible, nothing at all.

Experience and common sense having settled this matter very completely, Sir R. BETHELL found the basis of his bankruptcy measure ready to his hand, and his announcement that the untenable distinction between bankruptcy and insolvency was to be done away with, at once secured for his Bill a reception which augurs well for its ultimate success. The senseless distinction between traders and non-traders is not the only blot of the existing system which the ATTORNEY-GENERAL has hit. If the law divided things which ought not to be separated, it was careful also to confound matters which ought to have been kept carefully distinct. When it caught a luckless bankrupt, it was not content with portioning out his material wealth, but insisted on visiting, at the same time, his moral offences. This desire to bring the power of the law to bear upon commercial dishonesty is, in the abstract, most creditable; but there are two inconveniences in the plan hitherto followed, of mixing up a criminal and civil jurisdiction in the Bankruptcy Court. In the first place, it is not a wholesome system to set up a tribunal for the exclusive punishment of unsuccessful rogues. Fraud which leads to wealth is wholly untouched by the penal severities of the Court of Bankruptcy, while the conduct of a trader who is guilty of maladroitness, or even of commercial negligence, is visited with consequences sometimes out of all proportion to his offence. Another still more cogent objection to the criminal jurisdiction of the Court of Bankruptcy is, that the prosecution of crimes against society is conducted at the cost of creditors who have already lost enough by the bankruptcy itself. The punishment of crime is the duty of the public; and the reform which the bankruptcy laws need in this respect is the entire separation of the administrative business of distributing the estate—for which the creditors themselves may fairly be expected to pay—from the criminal investigation which public justice may in certain cases require, and for which the State is bound to find the means.

The Government Bill, though it retains some portion of the old penal machinery, does go nearly to the full extent of making the liquidation of an estate in bankruptcy a mere civil proceeding. But while it justly relieves the creditors from the cost of inquiries with which they have no concern, it does not seem to provide any adequate means for securing the conviction of fraudulent bankrupts in the ordinary criminal Courts. It seldom happens that those who suffer by the dishonesty of a bankrupt are willing to have the whole course of their transactions with him exposed to scrutiny, and it is only by casting on a public officer the duty of prosecution that frauds of this description are ever likely to be repressed. This, however, is a provision to be looked for in a criminal rather than a bankruptcy statute; and it must be conceded that, in resolving to mete out the same measure to all classes of insolvents, and to confine the new Court of Bankruptcy almost exclusively to the business of distributing estates, the ATTORNEY-GENERAL has built on a sound foundation.

But the real outcry against the Court in Basinghall-street was directed, not against its principles, but its machinery, and the popularity which the Bill has gained is probably due to the sweeping alterations which are proposed in the constitution and working of the Court. Some of these are undoubted improvements. One competent judge to do all the judicial work, with a staff of registrars to attend to administrative duties, will certainly give more satisfaction than five commissioners, who, by mixing up the characters of judges, administrators, and sinecurists, have almost of necessity lost whatever aptitude they once possessed. Even this improvement, sensible as it is, will go but a little way to satisfy the demands of a large section of the commercial classes. What they want in a Bankruptcy Court is to have an estate administered as cheaply, and, above all, as quietly as possible. Expense and publicity are equally

objected to, and while the Bill makes some slight reduction in the expenses of the Court, it bids for popular support by sacrificing, to a great extent, the wholesome publicity of bankruptcy proceedings.

Some curious statistics were quoted by the ATTORNEY-GENERAL to show the extreme unpopularity of the present Court, and the heavy burden which is thrown upon the estates subjected to its management. The facts are instructive enough, though they do not quite justify the inference usually drawn from them. In 1858, there are said to have been 8000 private liquidations and only 660 bankruptcy cases. At the same time, it is added, that the bankruptcy expenses have averaged more than 30 per cent.—the suggestion being that the costliness of the Court has compelled the creditors to give a preference to private compositions. The Court, certainly, is very expensive, and will not be much less so under the ATTORNEY-GENERAL's scheme; but there is little doubt that an ordinary composition arrangement is, in another way, more costly still. Under these private liquidations, undue preferences and debts improperly allowed swallow up more money than all the costs of bankruptcy. The collection and distribution of an estate with perhaps 1000*l.* of assets against 50,000*l.* of debts, must involve a much higher percentage of expense than when the funds in hand bear some reasonable proportion to the debts to be paid; and the apparent economy of private arrangements is due almost entirely to the fact that they have the better class of estates to deal with. It would be nearer the truth to say that the heavy average of bankruptcy costs is the effect, rather than the cause, of the unpopularity of the Court. Only the worst estates are taken to Basinghall-street—the dread of publicity, on the part of creditors and debtors alike, being always sufficient to carry an arrangement deed through, where there are assets enough to make a moderate dividend.

Some of the clauses of the new Bill are apparently framed with the hope of making the Court a little more attractive to the creditors of the more productive sort of estates. If this should succeed, the expensiveness of the Court, as measured by the delusive test of averages, would appear to be largely reduced. But it may be doubted whether the modicum of publicity which is retained will not defeat the purpose of the large concessions which the ATTORNEY-GENERAL has made to a demand for secrecy which is not exclusively prompted by the highest motives.

EQUALITY.

IN the conflict of new with old wealth which marks modern life, there is sure to be a great deal of jealousy felt by those who are making their way in the world against their recognised superiors, and much petty arrogance displayed by the cream of society towards the milk. But in England, at least, there is no perceptible progress made towards social equality. Whatever disgust an aristocratic system may excite in the breasts of those who find that there is something in the world that money will not command—and however strong may be the tendency in all classes to affect a superficial equality in outward appearance—the gradation of ranks is so intimately bound up with the political constitution of England, and the political constitution is so bound up with the thoughts and habits of Englishmen, that we all feel that there is no prospect of escaping the disadvantages of inequality without the influx of disadvantages tenfold greater. We must accept inequality as a standing and necessary fact. But when we have accepted it, we find that there really is a substantial equality which the difference of rank cannot get rid of. Each rank has so many peculiar advantages and disadvantages that it is exceedingly difficult to say in which it is best to be born. No one need be ashamed of stifling the natural repinings which the inequalities of life at moments excite in every bosom by fixing his attention on this substantial equality. Not that a purely optimistic view of human life can ever be rationally taken. There are whole classes of persons which any candid inquirer would except out of any rose-coloured picture of society. More especially there are the classes that have not got a decent and assured maintenance, and the classes that have the habits, tastes, and traditions of one rank and the economical position of another. It is absurd to suppose that any amount of reflection will persuade a man who is sickening for want of food and clothing that he is very well-off; and scarcely any form of misery is more poignantly felt than the mental anguish that comes home daily to the breast of the shabby-genteel. We can only say that if human beings are starving or shabby-genteel through their own fault, they are undergoing a very severe punishment, and, if they are blameless, they have been subjected to a hard trial. But with these exceptions, and with the minor and peculiar exception of persons employed in unhealthy or degrading occupations, there appears to us to be such an equality of lot in the in-

equalities of English life as is calculated to inspire a very satisfactory degree of contentment.

The position of a nobleman with large landed estates and a fine place is the one that is most envied, and is therefore most worth considering. He seems to have got all for which the rest of the world is striving. He has every luxury that can please the flesh. He looks out of magnificent rooms on a landscape that tells everywhere of the triumph of taste and the conquest of man over nature. Wherever he goes, men bow to him. Although he is as stupid as a pig he is put in the chair at every meeting, enthusiastically received, and cordially thanked. But the man himself does not take quite so bright a view of his position as might be expected. Habit takes off the edge of all enjoyment. Some persons have a real turn for the magnificent, and others have a real turn for the snug. The nobleman in his palace may have been born with the latter taste, and may long for a cottage. Property, too, very much blunts the higher feelings which the face of natural loveliness awakens. The great proprietor, as he surveys the harmonizing beauties of wood, lake, and lawn, is apt to be tormented by the thought that one point in the horizon does not belong to him, or that he is being cheated at every corner of his domain, or that some neighbouring proprietor has a far finer view to look upon. Then wealth and station necessarily bring surveillance. It is true that the sins and follies of a nobleman are so easily pardoned, and even endear him to so large a circle of admirers, that he need not much mind the constraint; but still the extreme publicity in which he necessarily lives does impose a constraint, and the higher the rank the greater the constraint is. To be watched by five servants is bad enough, but to be watched by fifty is a slow torture to a nervous and meditative mind. Then, again, extent of ownership takes away from the pleasure of ownership quite as much as it adds. The nobleman seldom has the greatest of all the pleasures of ownership—that of himself creating something. He is obliged to work continually by deputy. He does not know the delight with which a poor man digs and trains his little border. There is more keen satisfaction in laying out one of those odd little black plots that back up a suburban villa, than in gazing on the labours of twenty gardeners at Chatsworth or Blenheim. All great undertakings acquire a wooden and machine-like character which exclude the halting and ignorant intervention of an interloper, although he happen to be the owner of the machine.

The educational disadvantages also to which he has been subjected in youth, and to which he afterwards sees his son subjected, are serious drawbacks to the felicity of this envied being. From the cradle onwards the young lord is spoiled. He is taught, even in the nursery, to consider himself a privileged being. Every offence is screened or palliated. How can a child be simple and humble who is worshipped by every adult with whom he comes in contact? Later on, he has to go from home to be taught. He finds his masters and pastors as subservient to him as the funkeys and nurses of his infancy. A private tutor generally looks on a young lord, not as a boy to be taught, controlled, and guided, but as a decoy duck assigned by Providence to lead plebeian ducks into his preserve. The great thing is to induce the boy to stay. He must be so humoured that he shall be pleased to report himself to his parents as satisfied. The relations of teacher and pupil are thus inverted, and it is the man who depends on the boy, and not the boy on the man. There are a few exceptions, and every now and then a tutor is met with who is utterly indifferent to the claims of rank, and laughs at, urges, and drives the youth until he decides to leave on the spot, or else to abandon the notions in which he has been brought up, and take his place with other boys; but such tutors are rare birds. Then, when manhood is just dawning on him, the young nobleman is constantly reminded, by every kind of obsequious flattery, that he has not his way to make in the world, that it does not signify whether he works or plays, does right or wrong. If he goes to a University, he finds that there the obsequiousness of the rest of the world is travestied into servility. His dress is different; his position at dinner is different; his necessary term of study is different from those of humbler students. When he goes into the world, he finds the arms of vice and virtue equally opened to welcome him. Vice puts on every attraction to minister to his desires. Virtue thinks itself only too lucky if it can but catch him. Hundreds of noblemen surmount all these perils, or at any rate are not irreparably injured by them. But so many suffer from the consequences of their envied position, that we need to be very firmly convinced of the political advantages of an aristocracy to be reconciled to the thought that so many individuals are sacrificed to the general good of the nation.

If a nobleman stands at one end of the scale as the most envied of men, the day-labourer would be generally placed at the other as the least enviable. We quite allow that this is so when the labourer is not thriving in his walk of life, when wages are low and food dear, when sickness visits him, and he can hardly keep body and soul together. But a well-to-do labourer, in good health, and with regular employment at good wages, strikes us as an eminently happy man. His sensation of physical health, and the keenness of his relish for the few enjoyments in his power, lift him at once high in the scale of happiness. Perhaps an idle and well-dressed observer may sometimes view with wonder and pity the tasks through which labouring men go

without a murmur. He will see them ploughing the sticky soil on a hill-side, or cutting hedges in a drizzling sleet, or straining every sinew to heave logs of timber. This seems hard, cheerless work, and he congratulates himself upon his superior fortune. But let him watch them, when they have done their work, inhaling large gulps of coarse tobacco into their lean, knotty frames, and he will be humbled by the consciousness of the inferiority which characterizes his own physical powers and his own physical enjoyments. The labourer has also his legitimate sources of self-complacency which give him endless pleasure. He can almost always do something that fills him with pride and happy memories. He can drive a furrow well, or mow neatly, or tame a bird skilfully, or he is reckoned by his circle to be clever with puppies or learned in fine flowers. These are successes quite great enough to fill the human mind with deep pleasure. The labourer has also considerable mental enjoyment. It is true that he is not great at book-learning, but he is awake to the teaching of the hands, ears, and eyes, and his mind is kept active in its own little sphere. Nor is any one of any rank more full of self-respect or more jealous of the few rights he thinks his own. In fact, the life of a man who is clever, and sharp, and healthy, and makes something like a pound a-week by out-of-doors labour, seems to us so rich in enjoyment that it requires the drawbacks of his lot—his chances of rheumatism, and the anxiety of an old age not provided for—to be taken into consideration, or we should be inclined to pronounce that he, and not the nobleman at the other end of the social scale, is the person really to be envied.

But the mean may be supposed to be golden, and the middle classes thought unequally happy. It is true that they have the greatest amount of mental enjoyment. They are educated under the most favourable circumstances, and are generally saved from ennui by occupation, and stimulated to exertion by the prospect of increasing prosperity. But their life, if it is occupied, is very apt to be absorbed in the occupation. To toil without any object of toil except the toil itself is the lot that many persons in the middle class voluntarily undergo. When once a man gets into the treadmill of money-making, he cannot get out of it. There are thousands of rich men in Manchester and the other large towns of England who are at their business in the early morning, and continue hour after hour till the late evening, and then come home worn out to a hurried meal and a fevered sleep, simply that they may go on making money that is of no use to them. The activity of mind, also, that makes up the chief enjoyment of the middle class is the source of their peculiar kind of disquiet. Much of their unhappiness comes from a perverted exercise of the imagination. It is wonderful what arts men will descend to—what chances they will run—what daily delights they will deny themselves—what prolonged labour they will undertake—all for the pleasure of picturing to themselves a scene that can only occur after they are dead. They like to draw a mental sketch of their friends and acquaintances meeting after death has overtaken the rich man, and saying to each other that he died wealthy, that he had a plum, and cut up remarkably fat. For the posthumous pleasure of astonishing, by the wealth he leaves, persons for whom he does not care, many an Englishman denies himself all that life has most worth having. The misery of not dying as rich as was expected is purely imaginary, but it is not the less keenly felt. It is a real affliction to the persons who train themselves to feel it. It is a means by which their peculiar happiness is reduced to the general level; and it makes us feel that the more the condition and the habits of society are examined, the more manifest it is that one rank is as well off as another.

THE SHALLOW INFIDEL.

A VERY large proportion of our standing impressions as to the characteristics of particular ages and countries is derived from the stock characters by which they are represented in novels, in plays, and to some extent in sermons; and it is therefore worth while, as often as new types obtain any considerable popularity, to try to estimate the degree in which they represent existing facts on the one hand, and the state of the mind which conceived them on the other. In our own time, plays have almost ceased to represent anything at all; but sermons and novels are—especially novels—perhaps as popular and as influential as they ever were, and the close alliance which exists between them is one of the most singular of the superficial phenomena which the age presents. In each of them there is a stock personage who plays a part both conspicuous and remarkable. He is the “shallow infidel” who is usually gibbeted from the pulpit on the days which are appropriated to the celebration of the principal mysteries of Christianity; and he is pilloried in the novels of the ladies and ladylike gentlemen who write the little stories which conduct scrupulous beauties through a long avenue of Protestant Jesuitry to the arms of pious earls of fabulous wealth, or provide clergymen of superhuman strength of mind and body with romantic opportunities for the exercise of all their powers and the gratification of most of their passions.

The shallow infidel of sermons has, of course, no personality. He is merely an “objector” on whom sophistry may be fathered in order that it may be triumphantly exposed; and as—at least as far as our experience goes—he always confines himself to the same thrust, and is always foiled by the same parry, he probably

is a very shallow infidel indeed. He is uniformly introduced as observing that such and such a statement is opposed to our reason—upon which he is confuted by the double plea that it is not contrary to reason, but above reason; and that, if he owns that the grass grows and the leaves expand, though he is forced to admit that he does not know how and why they perform those operations, ought he not much rather? &c. &c. Every one knows the exulting swell with which the questioner rises to his climax, and the triumphant benevolence with which he pauses for a reply, which would improve the interest of the argument if it were allowable to make it.

The shallow infidel of novels is a much more definite person. An experienced reader may detect his baleful presence in half a page. He is usually rather clever and rather vulgar, and rather fluent, and very fond of scraps of German. The true Christian hero is either a nobleman of the very first distinction, or at any rate a youth of the best possible family reduced by unmerited misfortune to a very humble position in life; but the shallow infidel is a miserable upstart, always destitute of the feelings, and generally of the birth, of a gentleman. He must not be confounded with the earnest infidel of another school, who is generally converted by a disappointment in love, improved by a few pages of not over-intelligible Platonic metaphysics proceeding from some Herculean parson, who cannot be supposed not to know his own meaning, as he has just been talking for half-an-hour about fly-fishing or worrying rats. The novelist sometimes takes the trouble to state the grounds of the doubts of the shallow infidel; and this course is usually contrived so as to justify superabundantly the contempt with which the unfortunate man is regarded. His state of mind is depicted in the most perplexing phrases, and is referred to the most contradictory sources. In a recent novel, the unhappy man who sustains the character in question is said to owe his mental ruin to the study of “*Helvetius and Strauss*.” It probably did not occur to the authoress that, if he had learned from the first of these authors to disbelieve in the existence of the soul, it would be rather superfluous to resort to the other for a disproof of the authenticity of the Gospels. Whatever may be the source of his errors, their consequence is that the shallow infidel becomes a sort of social outcast, who is not only to be pursued by every sort of bad fortune, but is also to be deprived of the enjoyment of the ordinary rights of the rest of his species. In a popular novel published some years ago by a very popular authoress, an unhappy young man of this description became the lover of a beautiful, rich, pious, and, of course, well-born young lady, who was happily unconscious of the blackness of his character. Unfortunately for himself, the shallow infidel drove over with a friend to a neighbouring town in a dog-cart; more unfortunately, the brother of the lady was on the back seat of the vehicle; and, most unfortunately of all, the conversation between himself and his companion on the front seat turned on the Old Testament. The lover let drop some observations which appeared to assert some sort of analogy between the inspiration of Homer and the inspiration of Isaiah. The brother repeated his impression (a vague and horrified impression) of the conversation to his sister; and the sister, without even entertaining in her own mind for a single instant the question whether the expressions used admitted of palliation or explanation, instantly, and without further inquiry, turned off her lover; and, if we remember right, died angelically, according to the rules provided for such cases. The authoress obviously felt that want of orthodoxy was a crime so shocking that the slightest evidence of its existence would make it imperative on a really good young woman to break the most solemn promises made to the suspected person without further inquiry.

It probably never occurs to the good people who peck at great subjects in the feeble manner which we have tried to describe, that they do a great deal of harm and a vast deal of injustice. There are, no doubt, opinions on theological subjects which it is a misfortune, and which it may be a sin, to maintain. No believer in God could refuse pity to an atheist, or could doubt that atheism may be merely the intellectual manifestation of a thoroughly selfish and hardened nature—in which case, of course, it is as deserving of blame as of pity. But it is also true—and it is a truth which is much more frequently of practical importance—that immensely wide differences of opinion prevail upon these subjects amongst the most honest men, and that to embitter them by reproach and ridicule is in the highest degree unwise, uncharitable, and unfavourable to the propagation and to the discovery of truth. As to the shallowness which is so much denounced both by preachers and by novelists, it is undoubtedly a very bad thing, and it is all the worse because it is so common; but, unfortunately, no one school of opinion can claim or be charged with a monopoly of it. Novelists in general give the most convincing of all proofs that shallow Christians are at least as common as shallow infidels. Indeed, the world in which we live is so infinitely varied and complex, that most of those who hold very definite opinions with very great confidence are and must be shallow. The commoner and coarser forms of the conception of infidelity found in novels and sermons are an admirable illustration of this. Many persons appear to think that infidelity is as definite a matter as small-pox, and that it maintains its characteristics with as little alteration from one generation to another. They are profoundly ignorant of the fact that successive generations derive their opinions, not from those of any one class in the

preceding generation, but from the combination of all the opinions of all classes. This is true of almost every subject of human thought—of metaphysics, of politics, and of morality as well as of theology; and it is a truth which manifests itself with the greatest power in the most remarkable minds, and in those which take a side most resolutely and explicitly. Mr. John Mill, for example, may be taken as the most powerful representative of what may be called, for want of a better name, the nominalist school, both in morals and in metaphysics. Yet he differs widely from those who maintained such opinions in the last generation—from Bentham, for example—and this difference is produced mainly by the facts that the opposite class of opinions was maintained both by his predecessors and by his contemporaries with extraordinary vigour, and that he studied their writings with candour and justice, though not with conviction or agreement. If his mind shows the influence of Locke and Bentham, it also shows the influence of Plato and Coleridge, and the general result must be ascribed to the union of the two elements, just as the course of a stream is determined as much by the rise of the ground in one direction as by its fall in another. This is the case in theology, as in all other, and more than in most other, subjects. It is perfectly certain that Luther and Calvin contributed both powerfully and directly to the careers of Loyola and Xavier, nor can it be doubted that every considerable theological writer in our own day has been profoundly affected by those to whom he was most widely opposed. No one would accuse Dr. Newman of Rationalism, but if Rationalism had never prevailed in Germany, he would, in all human probability, have been a minister of the Church of England to the present day.

To a mind which is capable of recognising the force of such considerations as these, there is something inexpressibly petty and displeasing in the summary little adjudications upon great controversies and remarkable men which abound in popular literature. "The heartless and sneering scepticism of Voltaire" is a sort of standard phrase with such writers, yet they themselves owe infinitely more to Voltaire than they know. If any one doubts this, let him compare the early part of the *Essai sur les Mœurs* with Bossuet's *Discours sur l'Histoire Universelle*, and see which of the two best expresses his convictions. The doctrine that the world is more than six thousand years old would have appeared to Bossuet utterly subversive of the whole fabric of revealed religion, and there were few parts of his teaching which De Maistre attacked with greater warmth; yet who now doubts that, upon the question of fact, Voltaire was right, and his orthodox opponent wrong? Unless people can really add something to the stock of knowledge and thought upon such subjects, they should be silent about them. It is a very singular thing that a duty so simple and so obvious should be so very frequently neglected.

THE FUTURE OF FRANCE.

IF one asks a Frenchman of good sense and political knowledge what would happen if the present Emperor were suddenly to disappear from the scene, he will answer, in all probability, that it is quite impossible to say—that France is the country of surprises, and that no imaginable occurrence would astonish him. In collecting, under the above heading, a few concluding remarks, we do not intend to prophesy, any more than we have done in the previous papers of this series. We shall merely touch upon various possibilities, and gather some observations which may be useful to those whose speculations take a bolder flight.

The first step in any calculation of the horoscope of France must be to estimate the strength of the partisans of the various competitors for power, although it must be remembered that the vast majority—the hundreds of thousands who give such solidity as it has to the present Government—are, properly speaking, of no party. They accept accomplished facts, and limit their energy to the occupations of the hour. Imperialists to-day, they may be Orleanists or Republicans to-morrow. It may sound like a paradox, but there is really no Imperialist party. When we expressed, on one occasion, our surprise at not meeting any one who was an adherent of the present Government from conviction, some one in company remarked—"Le parti Imperialiste—c'est Persigny." This is really true. Flatterers there are, enough and to spare; and there are whole classes, as we have seen, who for the moment submit, with great equanimity, to the rule of Napoleon III. But his power has no roots amongst the thinking men of the nation. When we have counted over M. Laity, and some dozen more, we have exhausted the list of those who are known to the public as sincerely attached to the Emperor.

The claims of the House of Orleans are supported by the bulk of the intelligence of the country, but the most diverse opinions prevail as to the chances of those claims being ever translated into possession. Many say that the Comte de Paris, although possessed of all the qualities which would become an heir to the throne, has a want of that "initiative" which is necessary to a successful Pretender. Others, who have had excellent opportunities of judging, have assured us that this is quite a mistake, and that under a demeanour in every way suitable to his years and his position, he conceals great firmness and energy. The sons of Louis Philippe have a difficult part to play. If they were to put themselves too much forward, they would be called intriguers,

while, acting as they do, they must bear the reproach of being rather "Orleanists than Orleanses"—just as before the Revolution of 1848 people said "they are indifferent Princes but excellent public functionaries."

The Comte de Chambord has still many friends in the provinces, and even in Paris; but the strength of the Legitimist party has been very much diminished, in some of the districts where it was once most powerful, by the long abstention of the landed proprietors from taking part in public affairs. The result in some parts of the country, and more especially in Brittany, has been enormously to increase the power of the clergy, who unhesitatingly threw their influence into the Imperialist scale when it seemed probable that Louis Napoleon was about to prove himself the most faithful of the sons of the Church. A large section of the Legitimists has gone over in a body to the present Government. Some have done this, like the Duc de Mortemart, from fear of anarchy—others from love of absolutism—others, again, to keep out the Orleanists—while a few, it is to be feared, and amongst them at least one great name, have been simply bought. The variety of Legitimist which one encounters at Paris is in favour of Henri V., with a constitution or a monarchy after the English fashion, in so far as the absence of a real aristocracy will permit anything of the kind. We suspect, however, that in the country it is still possible to find the representatives of the "real old bats of bigotry," who came back in 1815, to the tune of—

Chapeau bas—Chapeau bas!
Gloire au Marquis de Carabas.

We have already indicated our opinion as to the chances of the Republican party, but we may add that many of those who were conscientious Republicans in 1848 have come round to acknowledge that, in the present state of education and feeling in France, a Republic, such as they would fain see, is quite impossible. A Republic implies Republicans, and Republicans imply virtue. Is it for those to whom Béranger chanted with so much acceptance his religion of the *cabaret* to masquerade in the grave costume of self-governing citizens? The Republic of February, 1848, was a vast sham, the hollowness of which none felt more keenly than many who acted in it. "Il paraît," said a church dignitary, when a shower interrupted the procession in which he was advancing to bless a tree of liberty, "que notre bon Dieu n'est pas fort républicain."

Republican in opinion so far as they are politicians at all, but far more interested in social questions, the vast masses of the workmen in the towns stand apart from all these sections; and their isolation daily becomes more dangerous, because the system of absolutism which Louis Napoleon has inaugurated, by cutting off the chain which in free States connects the rank and file of the movement party with their natural leaders—who will ever be the more advanced and daring minds of the upper classes—increases the suspicions which they feel towards those above them, and makes the difficulty of settling the relations of the poor and rich in France increasingly great. If the Republic of February, 1848, was a sham, the revolt of June was a very palpable reality.

If, passing from the state of parties in France, we enumerate the principal signs of national decay and of national prosperity which most strike us, we shall find that the good and the evil symptoms very nearly balance each other. First, on the wrong side of the account, we may remark the decided check which has been given of late years to the increase of population in France, and which in the circumstances of the country cannot fail to put it in a disadvantageous position with regard to other nations. Next, we have the bitterly factious spirit which is exhibited by all parties. This had full course during the latter years of Louis Philippe, and up to the *coup d'état*. Now, although it cannot show itself in public, it is not less alive. The violence of the language which Frenchmen use in speaking of political opponents is very strange to an ear accustomed to the conventional phrases of English Parliamentary discussion. With us, Conservatives and Liberals meet round the same table. Beyond the Channel, the lines of social demarcation run parallel with those of politics.

The extreme levity with which the Opposition assailed the Government of Louis Philippe will never be forgotten by the generation which witnessed it, and must give rise to serious anxieties for the future. M. Lamartine himself may be taken as the typical example of this levity. When the *Histoire des Girondins* was the subject of discussion in every salon in Paris, and was working up the masses to a state of frenzy, a gentleman said to M. Lamartine—"But are you really sure that you have given a true view of the actors in the first Revolution?" Royer Collard said, you know, of these people, "Pour parler simplement et franchement ce n'était qu'une canaille." "Pardon, monsieur," was the rejoinder, "c'était une canaille qui n'était ni simple ni franche." Well might the other observe, as he turned away, "I will use your *mot* to refute your book."

The reaction against the views of the eighteenth century has taken a turn in France which is also calculated to make us grave. The so-called *Parti Catholique* contains many persons for whom we have the greatest respect, but we cannot but feel that those crowded churches, those more strictly observed festivals, are indications of a movement which is more likely to turn to the profit of the Ultramontane than of the Moderate party.

We have already alluded to envy as the master sin of modern

France. The passion for equality is nothing but its expression. For this, political liberty, and all that makes a nation great, is sacrificed to secure a result which reminds one of the jocular reading of the inscription on the coins of the Republic—"Liberté de faire du mal, égalité de misère, fraternité de Cain et Abel." One of the results of that social liberty which Mr. Bright praised in words which called forth a burst of disgust from the House of Commons, is that in France there is no longer respect for anything. The Revolution did not merely destroy the privileges of rank—it sapped the reverence for all superiorities. Who is there now in any party who is a leader in virtue of his own merit? What centres of resistance are there if any one, whether demagogue or military adventurer, once seizes the wheel which sets the administrative machine in motion?

Another ominous feature of French society is the uncertainty of the relations between private individuals and the Government. Here all things go on smoothly. A political trial is the rarest thing in the world. In France, on the contrary, half the people one meets have been in prison, or are in a fair way of finding themselves there. There are really few men of eminence in the country who have not been compromised with one régime or another in the last thirty years. A nearly allied phenomenon is the wonderful mutability of social position. We knew a teacher of languages who had founded a Club of Democratic Conciliation in the Tuileries. M. Lamartine's own fate is only an exaggeration of what has happened to thousands. Well may we say of him, "How art thou fallen, O Lucifer, son of the morning." If a random shot had struck him in front of the Hôtel de Ville when he calmed the excited multitude in the crisis of the February revolution, he would have gone down to posterity as one of the greatest names in history. Few climbed so high, few have sunk so low; but everywhere there is overthrow and reversal. Everywhere it has been, "Hodie mihi, cras tibi."

The pettiness of the tactics adopted by many members of the Liberal Opposition is not a hopeful sign. It is not by the allusions of M. Ampère, or by the stings of M. Prévost-Paradol, that freedom will be won back for the eloquent tongues and the ready pens of France. Such things may give increased delicacy to a language which is already inferior to none in its elegance and point, but they will do little more. The Orleanists especially have been perpetrating, in these last months, one blunder after another. M. Villain's pamphlet is almost a calamity.

There are many other topics on which we would fain touch if space permitted. The want of education in the lowest ranks—the corruption of the schools which are resorted to by the higher classes—the contempt for human life—the immorality of the middle class—the powerlessness of individuals to obtain justice against the Government—are a few of those which we had set down as worthy of notice.

There are undoubtedly great restorative forces in France. There is immense material wealth which a more enlightened commercial system will enormously develop. There are vast breadths of uncultivated land which only require a judicious expenditure of capital to make them extremely profitable. If the conjugal tie is much laxer than in England, the relations between parents and children are probably on a better footing. There is in the saner minds a growing disgust at the military spirit—at the rabid worship of the "tambour"—which is the curse of the nation. The second Empire has done much to make hateful the bloody memories of the first. "How could we help being worshippers of the first Napoleon," said one who had lived to have his eyes opened. "Our school-books were stuffed with his praises, although they were composed under another dynasty. I well remember standing in the Place Vendôme with my eyes full of tears as the procession passed with the body of that wretch, which should have been left upon the dunghill!" To the honour of Lamartine be it remembered that he protested more loudly than any against the folly of the Prince de Joinville and his fellow-dupe. He saw what few then did see—that, in the words of the motto to the *Idees Napoléoniennes*, it was "not only the ashes, but the ideas of the Emperor which were being brought back."

It has been remarked, and with great truth, that the heaviest blow which ever fell upon France was the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. The elimination of the Protestant element, which would, in the natural order of things, have leavened all thought and brought about a change in Church and State without the paroxysm of 1789, lulled her rulers into false security till all crashed down together. We have not been able to gather that Protestantism has any great career before it in France. The Broad Church party is becoming gradually stronger within its pale, but we could not learn that it was at all encroaching on Catholicism, although a well-known historian once considerably over-stated the case when, in answer to a timid question upon this subject from an English clergyman, he replied—"Le Protestantisme—il n'existe plus."

We have some reason to believe that any political change which might emancipate, to some extent, the French curés from the iron control of the Episcopate, would be followed in some quarters by symptoms of dissatisfaction with Roman opinions of a very marked kind, which would take neither the turn of Protestantism nor of Voltairian infidelity. Such instances of protest would, however, be seen only here and there. M. Renan was himself brought up by the Jesuits, who, it is said, would have refused him nothing which their influence could obtain, if

they could have purchased his vast knowledge and marvellous abilities.

Amongst the better influences in French society, we must reckon the great endurance and strength of their friendships. It is not an unheard-of thing for people who are intimate to visit each other every day for twenty years together. It is gratifying also to observe, that the highest class, which, before their troubles came upon them, was so corrupt, is now very much the reverse. Anything more utterly unlike the society which is described in French novels than the better circles in Paris, it is impossible to conceive. The ease with which commanding ability asserts itself, and the warm welcome which is given to it even by the most exclusive, is also a healthy sign. When a boy has acquired the rudiments of education, he can, by attending, first, the courses of lectures at the Sorbonne, and then those of the Collège de France, and the *Jardin des Plantes*, obtain a first-rate education absolutely without expense.

Such are some of the more cheerful tokens. We cannot say that we have succeeded in satisfying our own mind as to whether the prospects of France are, on the whole, good or bad. No one can be much in Paris without hearing both views supported with great vigour and ability. As to the near future, there is one consideration which makes all speculation of but little importance. At this moment the army holds in its hands the destinies of France. If Napoleon III. were suddenly to leave the stage, everything would depend on the political sentiments and personal character of the general who commanded in Paris. The Duke of Magenta is, they say, Legitimist. The Duke of Malakhoff is, or was, Orleanist. Other Marshals, we are told, would fight a battle for the Prince Imperial. To such small calculations are those reduced who would guess the fate of the great French nation. Of course it is possible that the present Emperor may live long, and quietly hand down his power to his successor. If so, he must alter his system of government, or France will sink behind her European rivals and become, in all but mere military strength, a second-rate Power.

CLUB SECRETS.

WE had occasion, a short time ago, to make some remarks on the breach of social rules committed by a member of the press in publishing Cabinet secrets purveyed by some social spy. We not long since observed an analogous and equally culpable, though far less important breach of the same rules, committed by another member of the press, which thought fit to publish, for the gratification of malignant curiosity, the name of a gentleman who had been black-balled at a club, and the number of black-balls he had received. Both the offences to which we allude were, of course, committed by inferior journals. In the second case, indeed, the journal was scarcely within the pale of respectability. It would probably have seized, with equal avidity, any other offal which had come in its way. *Il faut vivre*. If you cannot keep a feeble circulation from becoming utter stagnation and death in any other way, you must do it by publishing what nobody else will publish. The tone of all our most eminent and powerful journals in regard to the observance of social rules is high. We should as soon look for the moon at mid-day as for an outrage on the decencies of private life in the *Times*. Let the leading journal have the honour due to it when honour is due, though it does not write in the spirit of Chatham about the annexation of Savoy.

The editor of a paper ought to know that any one who brings him information as to the voting in a club shows thereby that he deserves, if a member of the club, to be himself kicked out of it, and, if a servant, to be immediately discharged. He ought at once to fling the malignant babblers' information in his face. If the betrayal is conveyed in an anonymous letter from the club, that is a further proof of blackguardism, and a further notice to reject what is so conveyed. Clubs are strictly private societies. The power of black-balling candidates for admission is only justifiable while exercised for strictly private purposes and kept strictly private. It would be perfectly insufferable that people should assume the power of publicly damning a gentleman's character—even his character as a companion—without assigning any reasons for it, by dropping a secret into a ballot-box. This is England, not Venice; and by all the rules of English public morality, a man who thinks it his duty publicly to cast a slur on another man's name, must stand the risk of being as publicly called to account for it, and having to make as public a reparation. Secret voting in clubs may be indispensable, but then the club is bound to keep it secret. To keep it entirely so would no doubt be hard, though if high feeling and delicacy are to be preserved among English gentlemen, the object is worth the effort. The fact will almost unavoidably ooze out in society. But it does not seem beyond the range of possibility to prevent its publication in the press. One or two vigorous attempts to track the offender, or even a strong remonstrance addressed to the offending journal, would probably make others think twice before they committed the same offence. At all events, whatever authority the club whose secrets are thus betrayed has over its members ought at once to be exerted for the protection of those who submit their names to its private tribunal in the implied confidence that they will receive from that tribunal, however numerous, the treatment which one gentleman owes another. It is the interest of clubs, as well as their duty, to look to the matter. If the votes are to

be published, high-minded men will begin to shrink from inflicting a public stigma on any man, however objectionable, under the cover of secrecy; and the blackguards will then have it all their own way.

Indeed it appears as if this was already beginning to be the case. The power of black-balling, however guarded, is, after all, the most disagreeable and questionable power that a gentleman can be called upon to exercise. Those who are worthy of the name of gentleman shrink from exercising it, except in cases of the most flagrant necessity. The possibility that he may be secretly inflicting an undeserved wound rises in the mind of every generous man when he puts his hand with a black ball into the box. There is, reason on it as you will, a feeling, not to be got rid of, that you are striking a person in the dark. Ask any particularly honourable and high-minded man you know how many times in the course of his club life he has given a black ball. To a sneak, on the other hand, the ballot-box is a little Paradise. There, he can for a moment be, in a small way, formidable, and exercise a little beggarly power. Almost every club probably has a little coterie of rather low members who hang together and are great on ballot nights. The occasion makes them feel as consequential as a common jury when Mr. Edwin James appeals to them as "men of the world."

Verso pollice vulgi
Quemlibet occidunt populariter.

And the evil is likely to increase when clubs lose the last vestige of their original character as societies of men personally connected with each other, and when the qualifications for membership consequently become totally indefinite. The ballot is fast degenerating into an opportunity for indulging all kinds of irrelevant antipathies, which of course fix mainly on the eminent, and allow the obscure to pass; so that clubs stand a fair chance, in the end, of becoming a residuum of nameless stupidity. One day you hear that a man has been furiously black-balled because he is an extreme politician, and has made enemies in the House of Commons; another day the same fate befalls an obnoxious writer, or one who is suspected of being an obnoxious writer, in the press. Now you are called down in hot haste to give your white ball for the amiable and distinguished author of some heterodox theory who is threatened with the black balls of offended orthodoxy. Next you are summoned to counteract the vengeance of the friends of injured heterodoxy who are going to immolate an orthodox theologian to its shade. And these victims are mixed up in the same condemnation with men who have committed some offence against the laws of morality or honour. We repeat, the power of black-balling is the most questionable power a gentleman can be called upon to exercise. If it is abused to any great extent in the clubs in the way in which some men now abuse it, the result will be that these associations will become sanctuaries of something very much opposed to honour.

COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS.

THE last report of the Civil Service Commissioners is scarcely so lively as its predecessors. We have not one of those catalogues of blunders in orthography and modern history which used to look very much as if they were the composition of the writers in *Punch*; and the fear of the Committee of the House of Commons appointed to "inquire into the present mode of nominating and examining candidates for junior appointments in the Civil Service" has checked that genial flow of wit which was wont to make the Report of the Commissioners a sort of comic annual. Indeed we regret to have to state that the gentle dulness which rejoiced in the mild joke perpetrated by the examiners in constructing orthographical traps is likely to be deprived of its amusement for the future. Lord Malmesbury, with more common sense than always characterized his administration of the Foreign Office, ventured to protest against that heavy jocularity which placed a sentence of ill-spelt words before the candidates to rectify. The subject is important, and we freely admit that not to know how to spell in the act of composition betrays gross ignorance of books, and therefore a glaring want of such information as the public has a right to demand in its servants. But, as by far the largest percentage of rejected candidates failed in orthography, even in the superior departments, it is important to distinguish the kinds of bad spelling, and their respective degrees of educational importance. For the future, we trust that the Civil Service Commissioners will amend their definition of bad spelling. They have, at Lord John Russell's practised hands, received what is commonly called a rap on the knuckles. On being appealed to by the Commissioners to abrogate entirely Lord Malmesbury's regulations for the examination of unpaid *attachés* at the Foreign-office, Lord John Russell has taken occasion to observe:—"The object of the Civil Service Examination is to obtain young men competent to serve the public with intelligence and efficiency. It is not, however, an object of public utility to try the nerves of a candidate, and give him a puzzle which may bewilder his mental faculties at a trying moment. If a young man, writing on any subject, commits several gross faults in spelling, it is a proof that he has not received a liberal education. But if a bundle of mis-spelt words is put before him, and he is required to correct the spelling, he may grow confused, and fail from want of presence of mind. Indeed, it is said that the ingenious way of mastering a problem of this kind is to get

the mis-spelt sentence by heart and write it down from memory. In all departments of the public service, it is very desirable that the examination should be a *bond-fide* test of the intelligence and acquirements of a young man, and not a species of torture, to force a confession of incapacity from a nervous and diffident candidate, whose prospects in life depend upon the success of his trial." This is a sound view of the great spelling question. Lord John Russell is himself no inexperienced man of letters; and we entirely agree with him that the knack of detecting an error in ingeniously ill-spelt vocables is no test whatever of knowledge of the English language, still less of efficiency for the public service; and we shall probably hear no more of the famous orthographical trap of Dean's-yard.

The chief feature of the present Report is the detailed account of the examination instituted for the forty appointments in the Indian Civil Service. Before we examine the examiners, we may as well repeat Lord John Russell's account of the object contemplated by Parliament in sanctioning the competitive system. It was to "obtain young men competent to serve the public with intelligence and efficiency." It is important to bear this in mind, because, on looking over the examination papers, it might be thought that the object was to show off the examiners. As this is the most famous competitive examination, and the most important both as to the value of the appointments and the educational status of the candidates, it will be worth while to consider how far it answers its purpose by affording a substantial test, first, of the general, and, next, of the relative competence of the candidates. In other words, how was the Indian examination of last July conducted, as regards these two capital objects? In our judgment, a very considerable portion of it proved absolutely nothing as to the fitness of the candidates. The most famous examiners, knowing that their papers would be published, seem to have improved the occasion into an opportunity of telling the world what remarkably clever fellows they are; and occasionally of getting printed at the public expense their private theories and crotchets on subjects interesting and important to themselves, and perhaps of considerable literary interest, but which had absolutely nothing to do with the subject in hand. In English Literature the examiners are Dr. Dasent and Mr. Masson. One of the questions, or rather observations, set by these gentlemen is the following bit of philological disquisition:—

Many English words now used as ordinary and commonplace were originally metaphors or terms invented by poetic genius; and others contain in them allusions to historical circumstances, &c. This has been expressed by saying, that language is at once "fossil poetry" and "fossil history." Exemplify both forms of this remark by giving the etymologies, or probable etymologies, of the following [forty-five] English words:—crimson, bombast, honey, haberdasher, wife, church, temper, dirt, romance, &c. &c.; add to these a few others which you consider striking.

We have no hesitation in characterizing this question and quotation as an ingenious advertisement of the great accomplishments of the very ingenious examiner; and so, too, is the following:—

Consider each of the so-called "parts of speech" in English, with reference to the amount of inflection which it exhibits, making a comparison throughout, in this respect, between the English language and any other language with which you are acquainted. Derive from your examination a general characteristic of English grammar, and comment on this characteristic (1) as a fact to be historically accounted for, (2) as a feature affecting the powers of the language as an instrument of expression, and (3) as a peculiarity likely to have influence on the propagation of the language.

No doubt all this tall talk has its general literary interest, and points to certain curious linguistic theories and philological guesses. It may also have its special value to those candidates who have had the privilege of attending those two London Colleges in which Dr. Dasent and Mr. Masson hold chairs. But the value of setting lads of twenty to write crude nonsense on such subjects—and we have quoted two only out of some thirty such questions assigned to a three hours' sitting on a hot July evening—with a view to test ability to do clerk's work in Bengal and Madras is another matter.

There are, however, worse offenders against common sense than these gentlemen. It may be doubted whether Latin and Greek are absolutely necessary for the Civil Service in India; at any rate, if these subjects are introduced into the examination at all, they should be used indirectly as a test of general education, of general acquaintance with abstract grammar, and to show that the candidates had to some good purpose subjected their minds to a healthy intellectual training. Therefore, Dr. Donaldson sets a long translation from Pindar, a passage from Goethe to be done into the regular Tragicum Trimeterum Iambicum Acatalecticum; and in his Latin paper for three hours' work in the afternoon, among some other questions of equal difficulty and abstruseness, we find the following:—

3. What are the main reasons for doubting the credibility of the early Roman History? Illustrate this by a brief examination of the period from the expulsion of the kings to the burning of the city. On what principles does Niebuhr base his theory of reconstruction?

4. Write down at full length the names of the following persons, and give the character of each as briefly as possible in terse and elegant Latin:—Tacitus (the historian); Lucullus; the younger Africanus? Explain the origin of the following names:—Coriolanus, Agrippa, Callaicus, Scaraus, Sulla? Sketch the literary history of Ovid.

And lest Cambridge should have the undisputed pre-eminence in this display of pedantry, Mr. O. Gordon, of Christ Church, among thirteen other questions of equal abstruseness, proposes to the postulants of rupees this edifying test:—

8. Where were Scione, Cronmyon, Myrcinus, Naupactus, Cyzicus, Ardo-ricea, Megalopolis, Dyrrachium, Coryphasium, Stratus, Agylla, Acanthus,

Doricus, Arbela, Nicopolis? Mention any circumstances connected with any of them that gave them an importance at any period of history with which you are acquainted.

We have heard of certain Civil servants of India who have done some credit to that service, to their employers, and to the British name—Clive, Gubbins, Sir John Lawrence, Prinsep, Mountstuart Elphinstone, &c. We should like to know what their answers would have been to Mr. Gordon's question on the character of "Solon's legislation as proved by an observation of Arisophanes," or what was Warren Hastings' view of the quantity of the antepenultimate of *diuturnus*, or the etymology of *audius tertius*? It is curious enough to discover that in this very examination the relative value of this sort of literature was tested; for while in Greek the highest successful candidate, Mr. Hime, scored 489, and for Latin 445, the candidate No. 41 (the first unsuccessful candidate) scored 558 marks for Greek, and 432 for Latin respectively; that is, if the high classical standard was good for anything, the forty-first man was very far ahead of the first. In short, on the Greek and Latin ground, a rejected man was better qualified than the senior wrangler.

So much for the abstract character of the examinations. On the whole, we consider them to be very impractical, and mere expensive hobby-horses on which the examiners may prance and curvet, to show off their paces and display wonderful feats of logomachy and word puzzles. And in their other aspect—that of competitive examinations—they are a mere matter of luck, and therefore extremely unfair to the candidates. No doubt this is an objection that applies to all examinations which only pit man against man, and are not designed to ascertain whether a fixed standard of attainment is gained. Everybody knows that a senior wrangler of one year, or a first class at Oxford in one year, is a most variable proof of acquirements. But this only shows that competition is a delusive standard for appointment to the Civil Service. It is extremely hard that a well-qualified and superior candidate should lose his perhaps solitary chance in life by the accidental qualifications of exceptionally superior compeers; and, on the other hand, it is a wrong to the public service that at one competition it should be saddled with a man absolutely inferior to many who, on a more formidable competition, were proved to be his superiors in every department of knowledge, but inferior to somebody else on that occasion which produced a group of unusually intelligent competitors. What we mean will be illustrated by what the Report tells us about the two competitions, during 1859, in the Colonial Office, where the standard is the very highest in the public service. At the competitive examination of March 24th, when the maximum of marks was 5100, the highest and successful candidate, out of three nominees, gained only 2305. At the competitive examination of June 14th, out of six nominees, the highest and successful candidate gained 3614 marks; while the two next defeated candidates gained 3331 and 2423 respectively. That is to say, one man was lucky enough to get his clerkship in March for one-third less of the attainments possessed by two candidates who were unsuccessful in June. In a competition for the Ceylon writerships, in January, the same untoward results as to the candidates occurred. On the 26th of January, two writerships were competed for—5100 marks being, in this competition also, the maximum. Four candidates were placed in one group, and five in another. Of group A, the first and successful candidate was marked only 1355; while, in group B, two of the unsuccessful candidates attained as many as 2530 and 1365 marks respectively—just as, in the other case, one successful candidate was absolutely inferior, and in one of the cases very inferior, to two unsuccessful candidates. Mr. G. E. W., who succeeded in group A, did not attain much more than half the marks which were gained by poor No. 2, defeated in group B. It is undeniable that here are cases which show the result of competition to be that very inferior men are appointed, and very superior ones rejected.

Nor is this the case in a solitary department of the service. We take the statistics of the Admiralty appointments for Somerset House. On December 28th, a candidate gets in with 826 marks; on March 15th, one is defeated with 1032; and, on March 22nd, another is unsuccessful with 1043. With these results, it would be scarcely safe to say that the practice of competition is successful as regards the public interest, and it is manifestly unjust to the candidates. In our opinion, it would be much better for the comfort of the heads of departments—who now only, in the nomination system, acquire the unenviable privilege of affronting their nominees by subjecting them to a most capricious and uncertain handicap—that a fixed standard of competency should be settled, and that single candidates should be nominated in succession till one is found to come up to the Dean's-yard standard. Let that standard be a strict and a high one; but the present fluctuating test is no standard at all.

FLOGGING THE DEAD HORSE.

SUCH is the pithy simile in which Mr. Bright is commonly reported to have summed up the result of his last two seasons in the provinces. The amusement must have its charm, for he is never tired of repeating it. On Monday night he flourished his unwearied arm over a hide as thick and a carcase as inanimate as any he has yet spent his energies in belabouring. Judging from the absolute torpor into which the House of Commons had

sunk, a chance spectator would have drawn the gloomiest auguries of its approaching fate. It was obvious that the last lethargy was drawing on—that life was ebbing fast, and dissolution was at hand. All the ordinary stimulants failed to elicit any but the faintest signs of life. Mr. Disraeli overwhelmed the Whigs with laboured sarcasm, and Mr. Bright's tone was more coarsely menacing than usual; but they could scarcely catch a passing notice for themselves, much less extricate the debate from the slough of unutterable dullness. Mr. Rolt's speech was a perfect mine of information as to the success of violent reforms in the model Republic; but, owing doubtless to the stolid and immovable faces he saw before him, he could not divest himself of the idea that he was arguing before the Lords Justices, and therefore he argued with pitiless solidity, as men argue to those who are paid to listen to them. The rest were speeches of young members, described no doubt by their respective partisans as promising, but of which the public, fortunately perhaps for them, do not see much. The reporters abstract them in a kind of stereotyped newspaper English, which reduces all styles and all talents to a common average. The grammatical chaos of the unabashed dunce and the elaborate and fluent tropes of the more ambitious aspirant all disappear in a dead level of platitude. Mr. Bright's own display was a great failure. The consciousness that a temperate tone was his true policy made his speech spiritless and flat; but his utter inability to curb his natural arrogance deprived it of the praise of moderation. A slight expression of dissent from his opponents was enough to make his assumed courtesy of language and manner an intolerable restraint to him, and in a moment the old bullying and overbearing phraseology rolled glibly off his tongue. But the House was callous to his threats, and weary of exposing his sophistries. It had agreed to sell up the old Constitution in order to relieve its leaders on both sides of the acceptances they had imprudently indorsed; but it was in no mind to discuss minutely the justification of what it was about. The estimate formed by the House of the cogency of Mr. Bright's well-worn figures was aptly expressed by the fact that they were answered by a county member almost unknown in the debates.

But a deeper ignominy by far even than a dull debate was in reserve for the Reform Bill. Probably Tuesday night was the first time in the history of the world that a new constitution was counted out—if, indeed, any counterpart to that useful ceremony has existed under other representative systems. For the beginning of the evening the Ballot, as usual, succeeded in mustering a tolerably large and vivacious House. Mr. Berkeley wisely does not pretend to argument on these occasions—otherwise he might not always succeed in escaping the retribution which overtook another West-countryman later in the evening. He feels that the time for arguing the question of the ballot is past, and that the controversy is nearly as threadbare as that upon freewill or the quiddity of entities; but being gifted by nature with comic accessories of no ordinary kind, he looks upon it as an opportunity for a little Parliamentary hilarity. A debate on the Ballot consists principally in an exchange of jokes across the table between Lord Palmerston and Mr. Berkeley, each side backing with great spirit its own champion in the game of repartee, and cheering every successful hit to the echo. Occasionally, some youthful member thinks it a good opportunity for fleshing his maiden sword, and gets up to retail to the House the arguments he has read that morning in his penny paper. But the House ill brooks such interference with the privileged performers; and the unhappy young man who has been for some days picturing to himself a dense but silent audience, riveted with admiration of the unfolding eloquence of the coming man come at last, finds himself spasmodically shouting stray verbs and interjectional substantives in the pauses which break at distant intervals the discordant chorus of "Divide, divide." Such a fate, the reward of such temerity, on this occasion befel Sir James Graham's nephew, the celebrated "chip of the old block." The only speech besides those of the mover and the Minister to which the House listened with decent attention was that of Mr. Marsh, an old Australian settler. Two doctors can always be found to prove two exactly opposite causes of death, and two engineers of equal eminence are always at hand to swear, one that any cutting is easy, the other that it is impossible. It is a wise provision of nature, which prevents the layman being too much at the mercy of the expert. Under the present fashion of upholding as a model whatever is done at the Antipodes, a returned Australian, with his budget of anecdotes in his pocket, might almost become a political dictator; but the danger is averted by the blessed law that another Australian can always be found to contradict him. Mr. Childers had been claimed some few nights ago as a most important acquisition to the Ballotists. On Tuesday appeared the complementary Australian, destined to restore the balance of argument by contradicting everything he had said, in the shape of Mr. Marsh. He asserted, as plumply as Mr. Childers had denied it, that bribery and intimidation flourish as lustily in the new country as in the old.

The adjourned debate on the Reform Bill was on the orders of the day; and some members of weak mind imagined it would come on. But its prospects were intercepted by the peculiar constitutional implement with which the House of Commons, without infringing on freedom of speech, extinguishes a bore. The process is not uncourteous, but thoroughly effectual. Tuesday night was a happy instance of its beneficent operation.

A few minutes after the Ballot division, an Irishman got up with a grievance concerning some Irish harbour, unpronounceable to Saxon lips. His appearance produced a marked anxiety for their dinner on the part of the few members who lingered still. But something far more terrible remained behind. There was a notice that the Fore-shores of Cornwall were to be discussed by Mr. Augustus Smith, the distinguished proprietor of the Scilly Islands. Now, enthusiasm on the subject of Fore-shores is confined to a very limited circle. In fact, we shrewdly suspect that the only account most M.P.'s would be able, if catechized, to give of it would be a modest hypothesis that fore-shores were the reverse of back-shores. It was soon easy to see that a distant prospect of a Reform debate had not fascination enough to reconcile those who were to be reformed to a preliminary study of harbours and fore-shores. Almost all that remained of the House of Commons was the dirty benches glistening with greasiness under the glare of the Bude lights. A few resigned members dotted them here and there; the Speaker, embowered in an arbour of green silk, might have slept or watched for all that human eye could tell; the orator himself could scarcely help yawning between his own sentences; and the only sign of life was a crowd of eager, grinning faces, spying through the glass door of the House opposite to the Reporters' Gallery. Presently, the fruit of their consultations begins to appear. Two or three unknown, and therefore irresponsible, members—none but the most insignificant venture to meddle in such work—lounging in, listlessly, at various doors, and each sits himself down demurely by the side of one of the resigned, and hitherto immovable, listeners. After a few minutes of exhortation, each man succeeds in luring off his prey. The poor mover of the unpopular motion knows too well what those manoeuvres mean, and nervously tries to get on faster with his case. Presently he sits down as if he were shot, as he sees a figure run up and whisper something in the Speaker's ear. The count-out has been moved, the glass is turned, the bells are rung, and the Speaker waits for the result, probably in sanguine hopes of a joyful release, while the luckless mover, who has been for weeks past preparing for this speech, looks the picture of despair. Meanwhile, a much livelier scene is being enacted in the lobby. The whole enterprise is a *coup manqué* if a sufficient number of men come in from library or dinner; so the managers of the count-out through the door-way, crushing, arguing, shouting, and trying by imprecations, entreaties, actual force, and piteous tales of the Speaker's illness, to deter men from coming in. At last the allotted two minutes are over—the tale of members present falls short of forty—and the exulting officials and the disgusted orator bestow themselves for the rest of the evening on whatever amusements they can improvise. The Reform Bill shared the fate of the victims it could not save, and became a dropped order. But its trials did not end there. It was pitchforked over to Wednesday, and from Wednesday over to Thursday; and on Thursday it narrowly escaped the ignominious fate of Cornish fore-shores. The count-out was tried, but the managers of it were unable to block the door effectually. So many Janissaries of the Treasury are always to be found in the purlieus of the House that a count-out is never possible without at least the acquiescence of the Government; and Lord John no doubt thought that the treatment of his pet measure, the pinnacle of his Parliamentary monument, was getting to be past a joke. So the Government interfered to make a House, and the debate was allowed to wind along its sleepy length to an unopposed conclusion.

Wednesday was given up to the consideration of infantine grievances. Mr. Crook complained that children were made, by the pitiless bleachers, to work twenty-three hours on a stretch; and Mr. Dillwyn complained that they were made to learn the Catechism. The House sympathized deeply with both the sorrows of its small petitioners, but came to the conclusion that the twenty-three hours' labour was the greater grievance of the two. If there be any truth in the horrible accounts of cruelty connected with the manufactures omitted from Lord Ashley's Act, it must be acknowledged that the title of "Bleaching and Dyeing works" possesses an ominous aptitude. It is curious that, while similar Bills have been up to this time uniformly rejected, the Bill of last Wednesday was carried by a majority of four to one. The constant contemplation of Mr. Bright has no doubt created a general impression in all parts of the House, that a manufacturer is a kind of dangerous lunatic, who requires to be put under some restraint.

THE ROYAL VISIT TO CANADA.

ENGLAND could once boast of a Prince who was the first gentleman in Europe. At the present day, we may more legitimately congratulate ourselves upon the fact that our future Sovereign is receiving an education of almost unprecedented variety and completeness. Not the least among Queen Victoria's many titles to the respect and gratitude of her subjects is the watchful sagacity with which the heir-apparent is being prepared for the momentous responsibilities which are one day to devolve upon him. The Prince of Wales has every opportunity of becoming one of the best-informed men of his day. He is seeing the cities and manners of many men; his name is enrolled among the students of more than one great seat of learning; all that is fairest in art, and most curious in science—the latest result of philosophy, the nicest adjustment of mechanism—has

been pressed into the service of rousing the inquisitiveness and enlarging the understanding of the Royal scholar. Nothing has been spared which could tend to demonstrate how serious and how interesting a matter life is, and how far too valuable it is to be wasted upon unintelligent pleasures, or suffered to pass away in the splendid frivolities that too often have made up the sum of court existence.

It is but simple justice that princes in their youth should enjoy some exceptional advantages, by way of compensation for the serious drawbacks which social eminence entails. Montaigne says that he is lost in astonishment that monarchs should be capable of sustaining their burthen of dignity; and the difficulty must be all the greater from the fact that they are, from the necessity of the case, deprived of almost all that moral discipline of struggle, hope, and disappointment, which forms the most valuable portion of the training of ordinary mortals. The great tasks of life are ready done to their hand—its noblest prizes are already within their grasp. There must be an enervating consciousness of having nothing to work or hope for, and little to fear. They start so near the winning-post that the pleasurable and healthy excitement of the race is entirely lost. Then, again, habitual ceremony must dangerously enhance the difficulty of social intercourse. A king may, no doubt, have his occasions of familiarity, but they must be the exception and not the rule, and the constant bias of his mental habits must be in an opposite direction. It is not every monarch who possesses sufficient versatility to pass, like Frederick the Great, from the dull rigidities of court etiquette to the philosophic enjoyment of pipes, beer, and conversation. There is a sort of isolation in greatness which must make it almost impossible for a man to know either himself or the world about him. It is by the rude contact of actual experience that we get to know life, and in this a prince is forbidden to participate. The smiles of courtiers, the obsequiousness of attendants, one fine pageant succeeding to another, the apparent profusion which reigns around, and the entire absence of all the little worries of existence, must tend, one would imagine, to produce a pleasing but dangerous illusion as to the real state of things. The streams of truth reach a Royal ear in feeble volume and diluted quality; existence is seen through a rose-coloured medium, and the rude tones of suffering or discontent are apt to lose half their harshness as they pass within the doors of a palace. It was not mere constitutional indifference that suffered Louis XVI. to amuse himself calmly with his hunt or his workshop while Paris was starving at his doors, and the storm-cloud of revolution was ready to burst over his head. When a great Queen, we are told, once travelled through her dominions, the solicitude of her minister erected artificial villages here and there expressly for the occasion, to relieve the desolate monotony which would otherwise have been too painfully apparent. The future King of England is allowed to pass his youth in no such unreal and unhealthy atmosphere. He is thrown into positions where he must stand face to face with life; and the intended visit to Canada announced in the Duke of Newcastle's despatch to the House of Assembly can scarcely fail to prove a valuable addition to the stock of experience already acquired. It will call his attention, more than any of the scenes of which he has as yet been a witness, to the study of his fellow-men. It will force him to take notice of national characteristics, and to trace the same national tastes and tendencies under varied circumstances of climate, custom, and government. It will convince him of the many nice shades of difference in opinion and sentiment which separate each section of the human community from all the rest, and of the absolute necessity of making allowance for them if we would argue about mankind with correctness, or calculate with precision the effect of any influences that may be brought to bear upon it. Such distinctions are none the less real because they are sometimes too subtle to be expressed in words, and the inability to appreciate them has been among the most fatal stumbling-blocks at which Royalty has so often tripped and fallen. To make exactly the right allowance for them is one great secret of Statecraft, and the Prince could nowhere learn the lesson to greater advantage than among the two curiously heterogeneous, and in some respects contrasted, communities of which the Canadian nation consists. For those communities have, almost during the Prince's own lifetime, passed through nearly every variety of political vicissitude. There has been the smouldering of discontent, the wild blaze of rebellion, the reaction of patriotism, the steady growth of affectionate loyalty. There has been financial embarrassment, with its attendant train of miseries; there have been strong remedial measures, the actual operation of which the Prince will have the benefit of observing; and there has been commercial enterprise grandly conceived and vigorously carried out, of which the great work whose opening his visit will inaugurate is but a single, though perhaps the most remarkable instance. Everywhere there has been change, effort, progress—evils met by their proper cure, causes leading to an immediate result.

If Royalty is to go to school, where, better than in such a country, could the lessons be learnt which are most valuable to a Prince? The retrospect is one which every Englishman must regard with the utmost satisfaction. Canada stands side by side with the United States, a memorial of successful, as contrasted with foolish legislation. The one reminds us how much may be

effected by timely, liberal, and considerate measures of concession—the other, now that every animosity has died away, remains a useful warning to statesmen of the dangers of a violent and obstinate policy. Nothing could look less promising than the Canadian Provinces at the commencement of the present reign. All those political passions which had been at work in the mother country had begun to agitate our dependencies. The fever of the Reform movement was felt in every portion of the body politic; a stream of disaffected Irish was constantly swelling the ranks of the malcontents; and the agitation of religious partisans added fuel to the fire. A serious derangement of commerce aggravated the dangers of the crisis, and every symptom of outbreak found plenty of sympathy across the American frontier. Then came the actual collision of arms—demonstrations and counter-demonstrations, the oath of devotion, the cap of liberty—all the accustomed machinery of revolution with which Europe was already too familiar. The energy of a few vigorous commanders struck down the growing rebellion with two or three decisive blows; and the sagacious moderation of Parliament determined upon measures under which Canada is fast rising into settled prosperity, and has become honourably conspicuous among our colonial possessions for a devoted loyalty to the mother country. In 1838, Lord Durham, in one of his despatches, dwelt in the strongest terms upon the mortifying contrast which the Canadian Provinces offered to the energetic prosperity of the neighbouring States. There were, for example, only fifteen miles of railroad in the whole country; and the other departments of commercial enterprise were in a correspondingly inactive condition. The supply of emigrants had, owing to the disturbed state of the country, fallen to a mere fraction of its usual amount. The animosities of race burnt high, and national affairs were conducted with a scandalous disregard of the public interest. Distress and discontent were prevalent alike in every section of society. Far different and far brighter will be the state of things to which the Canadians will now be able to invite the attention of their Royal visitor. Its moral, we are sure, will not be offered to an unheeding ear. He will wonder at the triumphs of energy, and skill, and daring which will everywhere meet his view. He will see how social prosperity is fast obliterating the memories of a painful past; and as he receives from every quarter the affectionate homage of loyalty and respect, he will understand how great a dignity and how serious a responsibility it is to be successor of a Sovereign whose goodness and wisdom have endeared her even to the distant dependencies of her Empire, and whose reign has been marked by so large an increase of patriotic sentiment and material prosperity.

HOMeward BOUND.

THE tragedy of the Indian mutiny is at length complete. The firm supporters of British rule, the victors in many a battle against fearful odds, have found in their own Government an enemy more insidious and more terrible than the rebellious Sepoys and treacherous Princes who in vain combined to overwhelm those scanty but determined bands of Englishmen. Until the arrival of the transport ship *Great Tasmania* at Liverpool, we had pleased ourselves with the belief that the campaigns of General Havelock and Lord Clyde could show no parallel to the disorders and miseries of camp and hospital which threw so deep a shade of gloom over the splendour of Lord Raglan's victories. But we should have waited to see the end before we judged. Either because the troops were fewer in proportion to the extent of country in which they operated, or because commissariat arrangements on a large scale are practically understood in India, or because newspaper correspondents had allowed their vigilance to be lulled by a debilitating climate, and by the courtesies bestowed upon them at Head Quarters—from some or all of these causes—a belief had very generally spread that this country had at last proved herself capable of taking proper care of the unsurpassed warriors whom she sends forth to fight her battles. But alas! the fond illusion is dispelled. We can find at need men to hold their own against tenfold odds, but when the crisis of our empire's agony is past, we cannot find officials who will honourably fulfil the nation's obligations towards those men, either while they continue in its service or after they have been driven by blind injustice to abandon it. Nothing is too good for the British soldier when we want him to fight our battles, and nothing is too bad for him when he has gained the victory which secures our power. We do not, of course, intend to say that the conduct of the troops who murmured at the transfer of their service without bounty from the East India Company to the Crown was free from blame. But we do say, that had those troops been dealt with by officers who understood their character and had authority to concede their just demands, the greater part of them would have remained without complaint in India. The public would thus have been spared the grief and shame which it has felt on hearing of the arrival of a ship over-crowded with a portion of those troops, sick and dying from a neglect of due precaution, which it is impossible to avoid attributing to official resentment at the trouble and expense caused by the persistence of the Company's soldiers in demanding what they believed to be their legal rights.

Long before the *Great Tasmania* arrived with her miserable freight at Liverpool, calculations had been published of the price

which the country was called upon to pay for the stupid mismanagement which drove these men to insist upon their discharge. On one side of the account was set the bounty which had been denied them—on the other, the cost of their transport home, and of the transport to the East of troops sent out there to replace them. Even on this statement there was a heavy balance against the nation; and now we have to add to it the official murder of more than seventy men, the sickness of many more, and the deep dissatisfaction of the army, which may thus learn how it is likely to be treated if only it thoroughly crushes its country's foes. And lastly, we have incurred the contempt of the whole world, which sees that we cannot bring home a few hundred troops in peace—to say nothing of taking them into the field in war—without blundering into disasters alike fatal to our character for ability, for gratitude, and for humanity. It is sickening to read the details of this hideous case. We do not speak of any doubtful facts, but simply of the leading features, which no explanation can avail to soften. In the first place, the vessel was over-crowded. The men, women, and children amounted to above one thousand; and one witness at the inquest says that the ship could not properly accommodate above five hundred passengers. And next, the provisions were of known bad quality. There may be conflicting evidence upon minute points. It may be doubtful whether the lime-juice and pickles owed their disagreeable aspect and odour to the voyage home, or to the Calcutta climate, or to the voyage out. But “the flour abounded with animal life;” the biscuit took to its legs and walked across the table; the peas, after boiling for twenty-four hours, came out of the copper harder than they went into it; and the beef was intolerably bad, so that it is anxiously asserted that none of it was ever given to the troops. What they got instead of beef does not appear. Again, it is beyond all doubt that the inhabitants of Calcutta desired to be rid of these riotous and lawless soldiers as soon as possible; and it is at least very probable that the authorities were actuated by the same feeling. And so the men were huddled on board a ship supplied with provisions which would certainly have been rejected if offered for any other purpose, and Calcutta was relieved from a turbulence fatal to its propriety. But how would Calcutta, about two years and a half ago, have hailed the arrival of such a body of valiant soldiers as this which was driven in last November with contumely and precipitation from her harbour? Could the eloquence of praise, or the skill of purveyors and cooks have invented or achieved, to comfort the souls and bodies of sea-beaten warriors, anything more than would have been offered by a grateful and rather apprehensive public to an opportune reinforcement of upwards of nine hundred hardy veterans? Imagine the *Great Tasmania* to be discerned by telescopes in the offing, and to be known to have a regiment or more on board as a long-looked-for succour to the slender army with which Havelock was striving to relieve Lucknow. Contrast her probable reception under such circumstances with her departure after the mutiny was quelled, and when the society of Calcutta had assured itself that it could sleep in safety without the protection of a large armed force. Truly, the city of Calcutta has but little to learn from any of those sovereigns who have astonished the world by their ingratitude.

More than half of the soldiers who embarked on board the *Great Tasmania* belonged to the 3rd Bengal Infantry, a regiment well known to fame. These men had made a two months' march from Gwalior to Chinsurah, haunted throughout by disease and death, which, indeed, are common companions of troops on the move in India. Then there was a halt of a fortnight or so at Chinsurah, in which the men abandoned themselves to excesses of every kind. They were encouraged by the keeper of the canteen to act fully upon the precept:—

A soldier's a man,
His life's but a span;
Why, then, let a soldier drink!

They spent their money, and sold their clothes and blankets and everything they had for liquor. They were told that they would not be allowed to take their blankets and other comforts on board the ship, or that they would not want them; and either they believed what they heard, or they thought nothing about the matter, but went on board, trusting that the same care which had provided for them in the field would also supply their wants at sea. And so they embarked, many of them with only the light summer clothing in which they stood. If they went below, they were poisoned by the foul atmosphere of the over-crowded vessel; and if they remained on deck, they shivered, almost without covering, in the keen air. Thus the men became sickly; and when once their health was lowered, the quality of the ship's provisions effectually forbade recovery. There was biscuit hard as rock for gums sore from scurvy, and there was beef smelling like salted hides, or nothing, for patients in an advanced stage of dysentery. The complaint from the Crimea was that the Commissariat seemed to have no idea that soldiers, whether sick or well, could possibly want any provisions beyond biscuit and salt meat. But there the supplies, although unsuitable in character, were good in quality. Here they were as bad as they could be. It may, no doubt, be said that, if men choose to throw themselves into unbridled rioting and drunkenness, they must take the consequences in impaired health, and in the loss of those comforts which they have exchanged for poisonous indulgences. But the character of the British soldier is perfectly understood by the authorities who

direct his movements. They know very well what precautions they must take in order to bring troops in unimpaired efficiency to the post of danger, and they ought to follow exactly the same rules in restoring them to the joys of peace. It is hard that the saviours of India should rot on board a transport for want of a little wholesome meat and vegetables. It is cruel that the pleasing hopes of the homeward-bound should prove such a sad delusion.

REVIEWS.

LORD MACAULAY'S BIOGRAPHIES.*

THE republication of the short notices of the lives of Atterbury, Bunyan, Goldsmith, Johnson, and Pitt, contributed by Lord Macaulay to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, gives an additional reason for lamenting the loss of the most remarkable author of this generation. The lives themselves, with the exception of that of Pitt, will probably add very little to his fame; but they confirm the impression created by several of his Essays, and especially by those which relate to Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, that the choice lay before him of being the greatest of biographers or the most popular of historians. It is hard to regret a determination which enriched our literature with so noble a fragment as the four volumes which describe the Revolution of 1688 and the reign of William III.; but the lives of Clive and Hastings are not only more complete, but more thoughtful and far more exhaustive, and, though they do not contain the same evidence as the History of enormous knowledge and industry, they give a higher notion of the quality of the intellect which conceived them. Intellectual ambition is the characteristic of almost all men of genius. Their works are often conceived upon a plan so vast and magnificent that the limits of human life and energy are insufficient for their completion, and hence it is that so many enterprises remain unachieved for long periods of time, tempting by turns the great men of many successive generations. Here and there a scheme like Gibbon's may succeed under peculiarly favourable circumstances, but, generally speaking, in this country, such plans are thwarted either by the death or by the immersion in active life of those who undertake them; and it might thus be desirable that, in choosing the subjects of books intended to be the labour of a lifetime, somewhat less regard should be paid to the importance of the plan, and somewhat more to the probability of its accomplishment. Lives of Pitt, of Burke, of Lord Chatham, of Walpole, and of William III., executed with the same skill, with more detail, and at greater length than the essays on Lord Clive and Warren Hastings, would have been completely within Lord Macaulay's grasp. He might have executed them with a degree of vigour, beauty, and richness which it will, we fear, be vain to expect from any other person for generations; and the increase to our knowledge of the history of England during the eighteenth century would perhaps have been more considerable than that which has been afforded by the magnificent fragment which will never fail to excite a mixed feeling of admiration and regret. The history of a nation is something so vast and various that it can hardly be grasped by any individual mind, however powerful, but the life of a particular man is a far more manageable subject. It has a unity of its own about which there cannot be two opinions, and it supplies authors with a protection against themselves, the importance of which is usually in direct proportion to their intellectual wealth and force. A history is almost of necessity diffuse, and Lord Macaulay's writings always laid him open to the charge of caring more for picturesqueness than for effect. In biographies, the temptation to such faults would have been greatly lessened, whilst the opportunities for the legitimate employment of the qualities to the excess of which they were to be ascribed would have been greatly increased. A biography involves and justifies a far larger proportion of detail than a history, and such details are generally not only more characteristic, but more authentic than those which are selected from the vast mass of heterogeneous matter that collectively composes the materials out of which the history of a period has to be evolved. It is, however, too late to discuss the question whether Lord Macaulay's choice of his subject is, or is not, to be regretted. All that the present volume enables us to do is to form some sort of estimate of the special qualifications which he would have brought to the task of biography if he had devoted to it any considerable proportion of his time and labour.

Of the five persons of whose lives sketches are contained in the present volume, three—Bunyan, Goldsmith, and Johnson—were distinguished exclusively in literature. One—Atterbury—united literary with political eminence; and Pitt's reputation is exclusively political. The five sketches accordingly afford some test of their author's fitness for at least three different kinds of biographical composition. Some general observations, however, apply to them all in common. The most important of these, perhaps, is that Lord Macaulay is one of the very few biographers of the present age who is absolutely free from the vice—which, in these days, is sometimes justified as a merit—of worshipping the subjects of his biographies. He writes about eminent men as one who is eminent

himself, and who accordingly does not overrate the value of the attainments which he commemorates. Biographers often seem to think that the mere fact that they have taken the trouble to write a book about a man is in itself sufficient proof that every thing that relates to him is important and interesting, and that his character forms a whole deserving both of respect and of sympathy. Lord Macaulay was quite free from this weakness. He was fully aware of the petty side of the characters which he described, and was by no means disposed to refine away serious faults into mere picturesque traits, aiding rather than injuring the general effect of the whole character. In describing Goldsmith, for example, he comments with strong and very plain-spoken disapproval on the many vices by which his character was defaced, and points out the fact that, after all, his merits lay principally in his style, and that in every stage of his life he had himself to thank for the misfortunes which beset him, and which caused him at last to die with an emphatic declaration that his mind was not at ease. Most of Goldsmith's other biographers have been imposed upon by his reputation, and have thought themselves bound to put an attractive varnish on the character of the author of the *Vicar of Wakefield* and the *Deserted Village*, whether he deserved it or not.

Another point in which Lord Macaulay rose above the pettiness of almost all contemporary biographers is to be found in the manliness of his style. With all his love for anecdotes, and with all the marvellous power of memory which was one of his most striking characteristics, he invariably writes with gravity and self-respect. There is no nonsense of any kind in his lives—no fondling epithets, and no triviality. Everything is solid and to the purpose. There is one apparent exception to this remark, and it deserves the more notice because it has served as a sort of excuse for much of the trash with which modern biography is infected. Lord Macaulay's love for specific as opposed to abstract assertions sometimes affected his style with a mannerism which has frequently been imitated by writers who could appreciate no other characteristic of his works. His anxiety to be homely and vivid became at times almost ludicrous. Thus, instead of saying that London was illuminated on George III. recovering from his illness, he says "a spontaneous illumination brightened the whole vast space from Highgate to Tooting, and from Hammersmith to Greenwich." So, when he has to describe the eagerness with which Atterbury's daughter hastened at the risk of her life to join her father in exile, he observes—"She said that every hour was precious; that she only wished to see her papa and die." Probably no other writer of real eminence would have thought it in good taste to substitute for the word "father" the infantine "papa," which Miss Atterbury probably did not use. It is a curious proof of the attraction which tricks of style possess for the strongest mind, that in his anxiety to be familiar and domestic, Lord Macaulay should have overlooked the fact that the pathos of the scene which he described lay in the daughter's eagerness to meet her father, and hardly depended at all upon the particular phrases in which she might happen to express it. It is very important to notice that this slight blemish only affects the style, and leaves untouched the matter, of Lord Macaulay's writings. The expressions may at times be somewhat strained, but the substance is always weighty, and the choice of the manner seems to have been decided, to a great extent, by an anxiety to relieve the reader's attention from being overburdened by the solidity of the matter.

Passing from the general characteristics of Lord Macaulay's biographical style to the five biographies contained in Mr. Black's small volume, each presents points of considerable interest. The life of Atterbury is the only easily accessible account of the career of a man whose name is far better known than his writings or actions; and Lord Macaulay's knowledge of the period in which he lived was probably more extensive and profound than his acquaintance with any other part of English history. With the exception of his Essay on Addison, this sketch of Atterbury is, we think, the only one of his publications in which he touches upon the history of this time; and though it is, as far as it goes, a lively and vigorous sketch, it not only short but slight. A large part of it is little more than a repetition of the lively account given in the review of Sir William Temple's Essays of the controversy about the authenticity of the *Epistles of Phalaris*. The lives of Bunyan and Johnson have much in common. Each suggests the observation, that with all his many gifts, Lord Macaulay had but little sympathy with some of the most powerful elements of human nature. The agonies which Bunyan underwent at one period of his life, and the profound melancholy which haunted Johnson, are disposed of and accounted for in a manner which, to many persons, must appear very inadequate. Lord Macaulay was never disposed to do justice to the melancholy side of things; but his courage and high spirit, though equally honourable and enviable, had the inconvenience of preventing him from appreciating one very important aspect of the affairs of mankind. A curious subject for comparison is afforded by the accounts of Johnson written by Lord Macaulay and Mr. Carlyle. Each of them is of course taken from Boswell; but they present the most instructive contrast. Mr. Carlyle proceeds throughout on the hypothesis that, as Johnson was a real living man, so his sketch ought to represent a real living man, and he is not satisfied until he has forced it to do so. Lord Macaulay, on the other hand, does not trouble himself

* *Biographies by Lord Macaulay.* Contributed to the "Encyclopædia Britannica," with Notes of his connexion with Edinburgh, and Extracts from his Letters and Speeches. Edinburgh: A. and C. Black. 1860.

about the unity of the result which he is to produce, but contents himself with drawing a picture, every feature of which is authentic, though several of them are by no means harmonious. Thus the two portraits represent two distinct theories of biography, which, for want of more appropriate names, may be called the pictorial and the historical. The first is the most interesting, but the second is the most trustworthy. Mr. Carlyle's picture, as a picture, is admirable, but we feel more confidence in Lord Macaulay's facts than in Mr. Carlyle's imagination.

The life of Goldsmith is principally remarkable for the evidence which it supplies of its author's superiority to the vulgar prejudice that a man is entitled to any particular respect because he is famous. He has the honesty to perceive and the courage to say that though Goldsmith had a very pleasant style, and was the author of a few works which, in all probability, will last as long as the language, he was an idle, an ignorant, a very disreputable, a rather profligate, and anything but a very honest man. It is a strange thing that such a man's memory should be invested with all sorts of glory merely because he wrote a small quantity of pleasing poetry, a good comedy, and a pretty novel. The absence of applause with which Lord Macaulay describes his life is very satisfactory.

The life of Pitt is infinitely the best and most important part of the volume; but it has been so lately criticised at length in these columns, that we must refer our readers to the observations which we then made upon it.

THE RELIGIOUS REVIVAL.*

IT was natural that the subsidence of the Revival from its demonstrative phase into one more in harmony with practical Christianity should be accompanied with attempts to analyse its earlier phenomena. The hysterical theory of Archdeacon Stopford cannot be said to have disposed of Revivalism, as Professor Faraday's test disposed of table-turning, by the mere exhibition of an adequate physical cause. The public still feel that moral results on so vast a scale need a deeper explanation, and the general acknowledgment of the facts to be explained is justly considered by Mr. Wilkinson a peculiar characteristic of the present religious crisis:—

Indeed, from a review of those older movements, one is inclined to think that probably the newest thing about the present Revival is the temper of the time upon which it has fallen, which has given so large an audience of attentive listeners, and so many intelligent and inquiring Christian men, who, admitting its facts, want to know in what they originate, and how they are to be accounted for.

This is the large inquiry, then, which is before us. Are these the days spoken of through the prophet Joel, "I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream dreams, your young men shall see visions, and also upon the servants and upon the handmaids in those days will I pour out my Spirit?" Or is the whole a snare of Satan, against which we should raise the warning voice and hold up the strong arm to repress it? Or shall we invoke the aid of medicine and drugs to restore that healthy condition of the body, the want of which alone permits the continuance of the phenomena which are brought so strikingly before us?

Mr. Wilkinson himself indulges the hope "that there may be a modification possible of each of the three so diverse opinions, which may be, in some degree, reconciled and united in a single truth, and thus become a living centre of this wide circumference." What this modification is we are unable, after a careful study of the book, to ascertain with any definiteness, nor does the author's own point of view appear to us favourable to a solution of the difficulty. To us the issue presents itself as one between natural and supernatural agency, between viewing Revivalism as another chapter in the history of enthusiasm, and recognising in it the revelation of new relations between God and man. But Mr. Wilkinson repudiates the old distinction between ordinary and extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and seems to consider the power of prophecy and the capacity of seeing visions as nothing but advanced states of spiritual insight. "We are all inspired every moment of our lives, and life would be impossible without it." After admitting that "inspiration at this day is not infallible," he continues—"In this way, then, the Revivalists are inspired. Mahomet was inspired; and, seeing the number of his followers, we have no doubt that he answered in providence some great needs of man, and that what he taught, was for the time the best that they would take; and it saved them from even a worse religion, or from none at all. So all genius is but the greater capacity for inspiration. Shakspeare was inspired with the highest truths and the deepest insight; and what but inspiration guided Newton in his boundless flights among the worlds." Now all this is very well, and language such as this is familiar enough to the readers of modern Rationalist theology. But this is strange ground for an apologist of Revivalism to take. One can understand its more repulsive manifestations being sheltered under a plea of supernatural possession; but to lower the whole theory of inspiration and miraculous agency in order to let in these Irish and American portents is an expedient which would never have occurred to us. If the marvels of Revivalism be denied, the author remarks, "what a great gulf we needlessly dig between the soul and the man of to-day, and those of the older time, as written in the Bible. When was the change made in its faculties and powers? When was the

mechanism removed which formerly connected it with the realms of God, and gave it inspiration and prophecy?" We do not mean to involve ourselves in so grave a controversy as this, though we believe good theological reasons can be given for the popular view. But we cannot help observing that the alleged communications with persons at a distance, and the reading of Bibles by girls "unacquainted even with the letters of the alphabet," resemble the miracles of clairvoyance and electro-biology far more than those of the New Testament.

What Mr. Wilkinson, however, claims for Revivalism is a belief of a conveniently distributive kind—absolute to the extent that so much of it as is good "must come from the good source"—qualified as to the eccentricities and peculiar doctrines imparted to the Divine influence in its passage through a human medium. He fully admits that the converts "appear to be infected, if we may so speak, with the doctrinal Calvinistic thought of those most active in the movement. It is the Evangelical, or 'Low Church,' teaching, in which there is much fear as well as much love. The pains and terrors of hell are brought prominently forward, and the fire and brimstone of the pit are horribly before their eyes." Nor is he blind to the fact that the hypothesis of an unqualified operation of the Holy Spirit would give to the Calvinism of Ulster Presbyterians that Divine sanction which it has been the dearest object of every religious sect to win for the disputed articles of its own creed. "To account for it by the notion of an exclusive and pure reception of the Holy Spirit would, as Dr. Carson says, give to this Methodist form of religious thought all the force of Divine authority, and the manifestation itself would amount to a Divine revelation, which would for ever settle the religion of the world and compel us all to adopt similar views and attend class meetings." But Mr. Wilkinson dismisses the intractable phenomena, both doctrinal and physical, as "accidents of the Revival," "the mere drapery of the work," and rests satisfied that "this is a heavenly movement, passed through the human organism, and therefore partaking of its imperfections; that these doctrinal differences form no essential part of it; that whatever is evil or questionable in it belongs to human errors and to human teachings."

We advise those who wish to obtain a clear view of Mr. Wilkinson's theory to pass lightly over the first six chapters, including that on "What the Phenomena are not," and to study the seventh, on "What the Phenomena are." When we find that the author, after all, attributes them to "spiritual magnetism," we are tempted to doubt whether much new light has been thrown on the discussion:—

There are many cases well known to those acquainted with the phenomena of magnetism resembling those of the stricken ones, but certainly not exactly similar. That is not, however, by any means an insuperable difficulty, for there are features in these known only in magnetic cases, especially when they deepen into trances and visions, and we may use them as a lens through which to see the mechanism of the whole movement. We might expect that the earlier stricken cases were those of impenetrable or sensitive persons, who were struck down by the quick gushing of the spiritual force into some complication of hysteria with the new agent, which gave the peculiar character to the attack. Once seen or known in this special form, and rightly or wrongly thought to be a special working of the Holy Spirit, and wished or prayed for accordingly, it becomes a matter of sympathy and of ordinary magnetic forces to induce similar cases in others, who otherwise would not have been so affected, and even among men who, as it is seen, are not the subjects of hysteria. We believe, therefore, that it may be described almost as a magnetically manufactured affection in its more violent forms—a magnetically induced prostration of the organism, when the spirit is suddenly brought face to face with its realities. That it should take the form of other previous cases is also a part of the law of its transmission, and that the accompanying mental affection of the spirit should show what is known as conviction, and afterwards the state of peace which is known as conversion.

With such an explanation, we apprehend, few philosophers would quarrel. The difficulty is to reconcile it with Mr. Wilkinson's own statements in the chapter entitled "The Psychical Aspect." There he almost seems to adopt the language of a Revivalist divine whom he quotes:—"The Day of Pentecost would seem to have been but the faint type of this extraordinary outpouring of the Spirit." Here he develops a theory which leaves the alternative open between Divine agency and ordinary "spiritualism," if not between Providence and the devil.

On the latter point we must add a word. There is no construction against which Mr. Wilkinson so anxiously contends as that which assigns the Revival to diabolical agency. "Is this," he asks, appealing to the moral results of the Revival, "the wily Satan whom we are so much to fear as our great adversary? Why was he not satisfied with keeping the drunkards and cockfighters when he had them in his toils, rather than get up such an awakening, in which he runs great risk of losing most of them?" We are not sufficiently accustomed to the part of "devil's advocate" to answer these queries off-hand; but we apprehend that a new lease of superstition and intellectual prostration would be cheaply purchased by the enemy of mankind at the cost of a few hundred or a few thousand souls and profligates. So great, however, is our author's antipathy to a supernatural theory so repugnant to his own, that, not content with pointing out that the devil "has to take charge of all the things that men cannot understand," he actually reduces him to an abstraction:—"Selfhood is the devil, and there is none beside. No need for any devils but for that Prince of Evil, the love of self, and we see what a hell it has always made."

We do not think that Mr. Wilkinson has succeeded in establishing a philosophical justification of Revivalism. But we gladly admit that his method of dealing with it is more likely to

* *The Revival in its Physical, Psychical, and Religious Aspects.* By W. M. Wilkinson. London: Chapman and Hall. 1860.

throw light upon it than any other. He has analysed the evidence on both sides with acuteness and candour, and has collected some curious facts on the now familiar subject of religious epidemics. He devotes four chapters to "the Preaching Sickness in Sweden," "the Prophets of the Cevennes," "the Irving Prophets," and "the old American Revival." We are grateful to him for calling attention to the strange mania which spread through the convents of Northern Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Under the influence of this possession, some of the nuns at Wertet "scrambled up trees, clambering with their feet like cats." The nuns of Kintorp "uttered cries imitating the shrieks and screams of animals, felt a strong desire to bite, and became frightfully contorted." The cries of the nuns at Loudun were "what might be conceived of the bellowing of the condemned." We now know that these cases may be multiplied *ad infinitum*, and that Protestant fanaticism cannot vie in extravagance with the paroxysms of mediæval and heathen frenzy. But we suspect that the early promoters of the Irish Revival were ignorant that any other generation had received signs from Heaven no less startling than their own.

There is one important matter in difference between ourselves and Mr. Wilkinson—viz., whether the time has come for pronouncing a final judgment on the phenomenon now in progress. We are aware of no theological school that has made good its position for good or evil within so short a time. It is true that religious theories, in virtue of their pretensions to Divine authority, and the difficulty of subjecting them to the test of experience, are wont to find converts long before a political theory could pass through its first ordeal. But it is really too much to expect, even in this impatient age, that a few months' trial among Irish Presbyterians will overcome the aversion of mankind to a system of spiritual terrorism which supersedes all calm appeals to the head or heart by a physical affection in the nature of an epileptic seizure. It pretends not to reveal any new truth, but simply a new process of conviction. We shall need a new *Pilgrim's Progress*, in which nothing but the Slough of Despond, with its horrors aggravated tenfold, will intervene between the City of Destruction and the Delectable Mountains. Intensity is supposed to compensate for duration. "Moments like these contain the prayer of a life, and have a force and power to change the after-current of the man, and they go far to account for those states of so-called conversion we have heard so much of. They have within them the whole force and power of the soul induced by its great need and weakness when brought face to face with the realities of its state." "Let them be fanatics, if you will—our wish should be that they would not too much or too soon cool down into what they were before."

Mr. Wilkinson protests against judging the Revival by its symptoms, and appeals to its results—that is, its immediate results—on individuals. We venture to remind him that the salvation of souls may be sought by means fatal to the interests—even to the spiritual interests—of society. Hitherto the results have been at least equivocal. It is natural that the clergy, who have toiled all night and taken nothing, should accept this as a miraculous draught of fishes. It is equally natural that a different class of minds should turn from the whole subject in disgust. Others, in no contemptuous spirit, may dread the empire of "zeal without knowledge," and the reaction which must follow. We know, by the confession of its enemies, that the Revival has mitigated the rancour of Orangeism, and has filled the churches and emptied the public-houses through a large district of Ulster. We know, by the confession of its friends, that it has had no tendency to abolish slavery in America—that it has failed to make much progress in England—that where it has been propagated, madness and despair have too often followed in its train—and clairvoyant visions were at one time solicited as essential to conversion, till "the local clergy had to discourage this idea." In this state of facts, there is some wisdom in the precept, "Neither bless them at all, nor curse them at all." But we readily acknowledge that nothing but good can arise from a discussion conducted in the truthful and conciliatory spirit of the present volume.

SZEMERE'S HUNGARY.*

THIS is a very disappointing book. M. Szemere, the author, was President of the Council of Ministers in Kossuth's Government, and after the Russian intervention was forced to fly the country. Since then he has remained in exile. Perhaps this accounts for the small amount of information which his book contains. If we could have had a trustworthy account of Hungary since it has come under the new method of Austrian government, few contributions to a knowledge of current European politics would be more acceptable. Englishmen who have a general acquaintance with Continental affairs are aware that a government by a low and alien bureaucracy has superseded the old municipal Constitution of Hungary—that every attempt to gather the national feeling of the Hungarians into a common focus has been sternly repressed—that taxes have been collected with great difficulty and great cruelty—and that a great amount of valuable property has been confiscated. But all this is known vaguely. We should have liked

to have a chronological account of the mode in which the bureaucratic system was introduced and brought into play, and a definite statement of the incidence of taxation on the Hungarian cultivator, of his means to meet it, and of the consequences of the taxes not being paid. We should have been very glad to see well-authenticated instances of any systematic cruelty on the part of Austria beyond what all Governments practise towards their revolted subjects. M. Szemere does not give us information of this kind, and his reason may be the satisfactory one that, as he has been in exile, he has no information to give. But as this is the case, his book does not come to much. It merely amounts to an averment that the Hungarians used to have a Constitution which worked admirably, that Austria has suppressed this Constitution, and that M. Szemere thinks it ought to be restored.

Half the book is taken up with an account of this old Constitution, and sufficient enchantment is lent by distance to make it seem to M. Szemere by a great deal the best scheme of government the world ever saw. He wishes us to observe that it provided adequate means of carrying on affairs, and yet left every one at liberty. There was the most complete tolerance in religious matters, and the most absolute liberty for men of every race to make themselves happy after their own way. The people were the strongest and the bravest in Europe, and the natural resources of the country were unbounded. M. Szemere omits to tell us that this Constitution wanted a head, and that it was so framed that an adequate and legitimate central authority could not grow out of it. The Hungarians, we may be sure, felt this when they elected the House of Hapsburg to rule over them. Since the union of Hungary with Austria, the Hungarians have made many attempts to break with the central authority they chose. But these attempts have always failed, because the Hungarians have had no head. For a long time the Constitution was so far preserved under the Austrian Government as to secure many municipal privileges to Hungary; but the Hungarians were never content, and Austria was always trying to break up the Constitution and govern Hungary in accordance with the old Imperial traditions. Maria Theresa, although she owed her crown to the Hungarians, zealously, though by peaceful means, pursued the policy of making Hungary as much like the German dominions of the Empire as possible. She wished to make Catholicism as paramount in Hungary as in Bohemia, to make German the official language, and, in Hungary and in the hereditary provinces alike, to have the same kind of officials invested with the same kind of power. Her policy was followed up by the benevolent despot who succeeded her, and who wished, in accordance with the philosophy of the eighteenth century, to reduce her subjects to a French slavery in order to bless them with a French liberty. The success of Austria was only partial. Hungary still retained her religious independence and her comparative immunity from taxation. So things went on till the general excitement began which preceded the Revolution of 1848. The Hungarians thought the time was come when they could extort from Austria the full restoration of their Constitution. They always allowed that this could not be unless all the old traditions of the Empire were abandoned, and the other portions of the Empire were governed under a Constitution like their own. But they supposed that the old Empire was at an end, and that a constitutional government would thenceforth prevail in Austria. Events showed they were wrong. After they were beaten, the Austrian Government applied to them the principle which they themselves had proclaimed. Hungary must share the political lot of the other provinces of the Empire. The old Constitution was therefore abrogated, and a bureaucratic government introduced. It is a great historical mistake to look on the events of 1848 and 1849 as isolated from all that had gone before. The Hungarian Constitution not having made any proper provision for a head, those to whom the working of the Constitution was entrusted at the beginning of the sixteenth century permitted the representative of a strong despotic Power to take upon him the headship of Hungary. For three centuries a contest has been going on. The Hungarians have wished to enjoy the advantages of a definite head, and a central authority commanding the respect of foreign States, and at the same time to enjoy the advantages of complete municipal independence. The Austrians have laboured to make the government of all their provinces uniform. In 1849, Austria won the day, and she determined once for all to settle the dispute by getting rid of the Hungarian Constitution.

M. Szemere's account of the history of Hungary since she was united to Austria is inferior, both in fulness and in ability, to that which General Klapka has given in the introduction to his narrative of the last Hungarian war. It is therefore of very slight value, and as a large portion of the remainder of the volume is devoted to a description of what has taken place in Hungary since the peace of Villafranca, there is not much in the book. There are, however, some few specific grievances set down of which M. Szemere complains on behalf of Hungary; and it is worth noticing what these grievances are. The old taxes have been increased from ten to fifty per cent. Stamp duties and taxes on inheritance have been imposed. The cultivation of tobacco has been monopolized by the Government. A system of surveillance by means of internal passports has been established, so rigid that a man, according to M. Szemere, is obliged to obtain a passport to go to a

* *Hungary, from 1848 to 1860.* By Bartholomew de Szemere. London: Bentley, 1860.

neighbouring village to see a sick friend. No certificates of proficiency are given at the Universities except to those acquainted with German. The pleadings in courts of law are required to be in German. The judges of the ordinary tribunals are foreigners—Bohemians, Poles, and Italians. The police have the power of entering any house on bare suspicion without a warrant; and the system of voluntary loans fleeces those who have scraped together enough money to pay the taxes. Minor and more particular hardships are also noticed. The Government, by giving a subvention to the German theatre at Pesth, has tried to ruin the national theatre, but, happily, it has not succeeded. The Ludovicum at Pesth, intended as an institution for the gratuitous teaching of mathematics, has been converted into a military hospital. The landowners have been forbidden to found an agricultural bank. We believe that these are all the specific grounds of complaint that M. Szemere has to make against Austria. Of course, there is the great general grievance that the Constitution has been suppressed, but these are the particular grievances adduced. They are, we think, the only things that make the book worth noticing. We should not have thought it necessary to review a volume that is otherwise nothing but a political pamphlet had it not been that here and there it contains some slight materials to enable us to judge what it is exactly of which Hungarians complain. We do not see that there is anything more in these injuries than is involved in the resolution of Austria to treat Hungary as a conquered country. An Austrian would say that, after all, nothing more is done than to make Hungary pay for the expense to which she has put the Empire. That these things are, in practice, very hard to bear, that they vex the heart of a proud and independent race, and that they cause much daily misery, is indisputable. M. Szemere is quite right in saying they are the sort of things that Englishmen would fight very hard to get rid of; but they do not show that the Austrians, as conquerors, have behaved with exceptional brutality.

ARCHITECTURA NUMISMATICA.*

THE task which Professor Donaldson has undertaken in this volume, and which he has fulfilled with great ability, is not altogether a new one either in design or execution. He quotes the following passage from Addison, in his *Dialogue on Medals*:—"There is an ingenious gentleman of our nation extremely well versed in this study, who has a design of publishing the whole history of architecture, with its several improvements and decays, as it is to be met with on ancient coins." And in 1836, the Institute of British Architects proposed the examination of architectural coins and medals as a fitting subject of inquiry to its members and correspondents, referring at the same time to the use made of such authorities by Piranesi and others in the restoration of ancient buildings. This hint was first taken by the Rev. H. J. Rose, of Houghton Conquest, who read a paper in 1852 before the Bedfordshire Architectural Society on Hebrew and Samaritan Coins. But this essay only dealt, if we remember rightly, with the historical value of certain coins in reference to the rebellion of Simeon Barchochab in the time of Hadrian. It was reserved for Professor Donaldson to publish the first formal treatise on Numismatic Architecture.

The results of his inquiries are, we think, far less important than might have been expected. He has collected about a hundred medals of all sizes and countries, and divided them into five classes—sacred, monumental, such as have to do with civil public life, such as represent the buildings used for public games, and, lastly, a miscellaneous group of city gates, camps, harbours, and a Pharos. All these are engraved and explained in the accompanying letterpress, and are compared, whenever it is possible, with the descriptions of ancient writers or with existing remains. The series, we need not say, is one of remarkable interest; and we cannot speak too highly of the diligence and acumen with which the whole subject has been discussed. But the question remains, whether Professor Donaldson has satisfactorily proved that we may rely, as a general rule, on the fidelity of these numismatic representations of ancient architectural monuments. We cannot say that we are ourselves convinced. No doubt he shows that sometimes the medallist has endeavoured to delineate his subject with substantial truth. And occasionally he discovers, with great ingenuity, some unexpected confirmation or correction of the popular belief as to an ancient building from its conventional representation on a contemporary medal. But in other cases he is less happy. We grant that his eloquent description very often gives a new life to the very dry bones of the medal, and we begin to see in its uncouth symbols much more than our untutored eyes could discern. But how far may we trust his interpretation of this numismatic shorthand? He makes a gallant attempt at the beginning of the book to ascertain some general laws for the conventional representation of architectural forms on medals, but we do not think that he establishes that there ever was a strict science of numismatic language. And forcible and beautiful as the designs of some medals may be allowed to be, there are others of contemporaneous dates which are rude and coarse in the extreme. Such, for example, is the silver medal of the Vinician family (No. lix.) representing the Arch of Augustus. When one surveys all these medallic impressions in succession, the conviction

on most unprejudiced minds would be, we believe, that each die-sinker took any license that occurred to him. He put his sigles where he chose, and divided his epigraphs as he liked best. Not unfrequently the letters are transposed even in short and obvious inscriptions; and if this ignorance or carelessness was permitted to prevail in the engraving of a legend, it is far more likely that blunders would be frequent in such highly conventionalized forms as a temple or a theatre must assume within the narrow circumference of a medal.

Again, there is everything to impress one with the perfect *bona fides* of Professor Donaldson. But when one remembers how much a favourite theory warps the judgment, it is difficult not to be suspicious as to the magnified pictures of the medals which form such effective illustrations of this handsome book. It is our opinion that no process, except that of photography, can be trusted for the exact reproduction of a numismatic sculpture. When it is remembered how small the scale of a coin or a medal usually is, and how worn or defaced the impression, it will be seen that the enlargement of the image by the eye is too delicate a process to be thoroughly trustworthy, especially when the draughtsman may possibly have a theory to maintain. And we have still more reason to be alarmed when we find Professor Donaldson formally disclaiming the intention to reproduce the exact impression of any particular medal. He says:—

It is necessary for me to state that, in general, it is not my intention to represent any particular individual medal, but rather the type of a particular series: the absolute fidelity of adherence to any individual coin, which is so precious to the numismatist, not being my object. For, so imperfect generally are the coins of this class, that it is almost impossible to find any one so sharp and well preserved as to retain all its parts clearly defined. It was, therefore, necessary to consult many of the same type in order to find every detail and to interpret accurately all the minutiae. My system has therefore been this—to consult with a powerful glass all the examples I could meet with. . . . I then with my own hands scrupulously drew the details to an enlarged size, from six to twelve times the original dimensions.

We repeat that, however good the intentions may be, this process is most hazardous. Professor Donaldson does not seem to have troubled himself with any analogous forms of later art, such as the architectural seals of the Middle Ages. And yet if, as is generally thought, the sphragistic representations of churches or buildings are thoroughly untrustworthy, it would not be unreasonable to be sceptical as to the accuracy of the conventional architectural forms of the ancient medallists. Our own opinion is, that, as a general rule, the old die-sinkers thought it quite enough to represent with the merest conventionalism a temple, or an arch, or a column, as the case might be. But some artists, in some cases, may probably have aimed at stricter truthfulness. And it is probable enough that any remarkable *differentia* of a particular structure might be depicted without regard to the verisimilitude of the rest. In examining Professor Donaldson's volume our attention was arrested by two medals, figured in one plate (Nos. 83 and 84), representing the City Gates at Bizya, in Thrace. Both medals were struck in honour of the Emperor Trajan, and the reverse of each is sculptured with a stately gateway. But the details of design of the two are not identical. It is evidently the same gateway that is meant, for in each case the structure is composed of a circular-headed door flanked by columns, with an arcuated story above it, and a circular tower on each side. Above all is the Emperor in his quadriga, with the horses in full gallop. These are common to both medals, but the points of difference are, that the number of the arches in the arcade above the archway are not the same, that the circular towers are not alike in windows or masonry, and that one of the medals shows a kind of embattled parapet which is absent in the other. Now the most obvious conclusion would be that these two medals represent, with these trifling discrepancies, one and the same gateway. The great thing that the medals meant to commemorate was the fact that a colossal statue of Trajan in a quadriga was placed on the gate of Bizya. And in each case the form and plan of the gateway was approximately rendered. But then no reliance, it is clear, can be placed on the more minute details. This, however, would not suit Professor Donaldson, who accordingly says—"These medals evidently represent two different fronts of the same gate of the city, the inner and the outer; the quadriga which surmounts each being identically the same." But he overlooks the fact that the quadriga, in both medals, faces the same way. It is obvious that, had one medal been intended to show the inner side of the gateway, the horses' heads must have been reversed. If the artist forgot this, what are we to think of his boasted accuracy in other points? And again, we hold it to be a great architectural improbability that the outer and inner sides of *circular* towers should be so diversely treated as they would be in this example, were Mr. Donaldson's theory accepted. This example seems to us to show both the strong points and the weak points of the book. Undoubtedly this series of medals gives us unimpeachable evidence of certain general architectural or monumental facts, and it is a very pleasant exercise of the ingenuity to interpret their obscure symbols. But the attempt to find in all of them minute information of a more detailed kind seems to us to fail altogether.

With this preliminary understanding, it is instructive enough to follow Professor Donaldson in his various discussions. None of his medals exceed in interest the two Athenian examples, representing the Acropolis and the Temple of Bacchus, with which he opens his series. But it is quite enough to weaken his general theory to observe that the Parthenon is indicated in the first medal in the rudest imaginable way. Many of the Roman

* *Architectura Numismatica; or, Architectural Medals of Classic Antiquity, Illustrated and Explained by Comparison with the Monuments and the Descriptions of Ancient Authors, and Copious Text.* By T. L. Donaldson, Ph.D., Architect. London: Day and Son. 1859.

medals are certainly more approximately accurate. One of Gordian, representing the Artemiseion of Ephesus, is made of real utility as a key to explain the conflicting descriptions given by Pliny and Vitruvius of that famous temple. In commenting upon the medal which represents the Temple of Trajan at Rome, Professor Donaldson has failed to compare its side porticos with the very similar columniated wings in front of St. Peter's. And the covered cloistral quadrilateral front court before the Temple of Jupiter Ultor, in the next medal, is the exact type of the atrium still preserved to the churches (among others) of San Clemente at Rome, and San Ambrogio at Milan. Professor Donaldson is an advocate of classical architecture against the Gothic style, and accordingly he puts in this plea for his favourite ancients in discussing the Temple of Venus and Rome:—

Those who have not minutely entered into the consideration of all the accompaniments and parts of these heathen temples, now unhappily to be contemplated only as fragments, and who have been accustomed to see our Gothic cathedrals in all their completeness, are apt to imagine that the temples of classic antiquity will not bear comparison with the grandeur and variety of the buildings of the mediæval period. But if the former be carried out to their just conclusion—if the imagination of the well-informed architect rises to all the imagery embodied in those majestic fanes of heathenism—it will be found that they did not fall short of all those elements of grace and grandeur, and even religious sentiment, which are by some considered the peculiar attributes of the Gothic cathedrals.

In a medal of the Emperor Gordian there is shown a sacrifice before a Temple of Victory, in which the whole *ordonnance* of the group is a most singular anticipation of the well-known scene of the sacrifice at Lystra, in Raffaele's Cartoon. Among the most curious of the medals illustrated must be reckoned the one of Antoninus Pius, the subject of which is the temple on Mount Gerizim. This is singularly like the one before referred to, which represents the Acropolis at Athens. A comparison of a medallic representation of the Propylæum of the Great Temple at Baalbec with the ground plan which was traced from the actual ruins by Messrs. Wood and Dawkins affords Professor Donaldson an opportunity of attempting a restoration of the façade. We can only say that, with every wish to be convinced, we find it impossible to see any probability in the suggested elevation. And were it possible to imagine this ideal façade parodied by the coarse delineation of the medal, the conclusion would be altogether adverse to any belief in the trustworthiness of numismatic architecture.

"The earliest medal extant which bears an architectural monument," says our author, is a silver tetradrachm in the British Museum, with the head of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 140) on the obverse, and on the reverse a view of the shrine or tomb of Sardanapalus, who was deified by the Assyrians. This specimen is of great interest as presenting a type of the pyramidal form which was so common in the East, and of the stepped mounds of Assyria, the Mausoleum at Halicarnassus, and the Egyptian pyramids are examples. We may observe, *en passant*, that the two Athenian medals before referred to, to which no date is assigned, are surely earlier than this tetradrachm. The view of the cochlid column of Trajan, given in number 51, strikes us as being one of the most truthful of the series—though, even in this, relative scale and proportion are wholly disregarded. We note here a valuable observation—very cognate to the matter in hand—that the architectural subjects of the spiral sculptures of this column, though engraved by Bartoli, have never obtained the attention which they deserve as illustrations of various contemporaneous classes of building, both of the Germans and Romans. A medal of Claudius—a very rude one, considering its date—represents a votive arch, with his equestrian statue upon the top, placed sideways. This precedent was relied upon when the Duke of Wellington's statue was placed in a similar position on the arch at Hyde Park-corner. Two wooden bridges and two of stone (Nos. 62–65) are strikingly suggestive. One of them—the Pons Ælius—has four columns on each side, with a statue on each. Its successor, the Ponte S. Angelo, reproduces this unusual feature in the statues of the Apostles over each arch, carved by Bernini. Finally, we will quote an instance in which an architectural medal has been useful in criticism. Varro, in one passage, speaks of a *tholus Macelli*. It had been proposed to read *Marcelli*, from the improbability of a slaughter-house having a dome. But this medal shows the Macellum Augusti with a high domical roof. These are some specimens of the many interesting topics raised and discussed in this very remarkable volume. If we are unconvinced by its staple argument, we are not the less grateful to Professor Donaldson for his most meritorious performance. It reflects the highest credit on his professional skill; and in spite of some misprints, and the use in one place of the vulgar slang, "a busy effect," as applied to an architectural design, this work will deservedly increase the reputation for scholarship already gained by this accomplished writer.

POLITICAL POEMS OF THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY.*

AMONG the *Chronicles and Memorials* the publication of which we owe to the Master of the Rolls, it will inevitably happen that some are of little interest, and that others are ill-

* *Political Poems and Songs relating to English History. Composed during the Period from the Accession of Edward III. to that of Richard III.* Edited by Thomas Wright, Esq., M.A., F.S.A., Hon. M.R.S.L., &c., Corresponding Member of the Institute of France (Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres). Published by the Authority of the Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, under the Direction of the Master of the Rolls. Vol. I. London: Longmans.

edited. No fears on this head need be felt with regard to the volume before us. Mr. Wright's competency is beyond dispute; and if amusement and instruction are to be found in any mediæval documents, we may fairly look for them in a collection of political songs most of which are now published for the first time, and which relate to a period of history so eventful as that which intervenes between the accession of Edward III. and that of Richard III.

It would indeed be a mistake to imagine that the *Political Poems of the Fourteenth Century* resemble the political poems of more recent times. In a modern collection of a similar kind we should expect to find one-sided accounts of the Emancipation of the Roman Catholics, of the passing of the Reform Bill, and of the introduction of Free-trade. War and religion, if introduced at all, would hold a secondary place. Nelson and Dr. Pusey would hardly come into notice, and the Duke of Wellington would figure rather as a statesman than as a general. In the fourteenth century we must be prepared to find this state of things pretty much reversed. It is true that then, as subsequently, changes of the greatest importance were taking place in the laws and constitution of the realm; but as the full importance of these changes was not discerned, comparatively little was said and thought about them. We, looking back from our present eminence upon the upward struggles of infant civilization, can discern that the system of representation of cities, the separation of the House of Commons from that of the Lords, and the gradual recognition of the powers and functions of the former, were of infinitely greater importance to posterity than the fluctuating successes of English and French, and English and Scotch, or the courage of the various leaders and armies. But our forefathers were blind to what now seems so clear. The House of Commons had, at the period to which the poems before us belong, acquired a distinct and recognised existence; but it had done so in such silence and obscurity that constitutional writers are reduced almost to guess-work when they attempt to trace the steps by which it had arrived at this point. For some time yet its struggles were destined to attract little note or comment, and centuries were to elapse before the civilized world would recognise that Christians could find a better occupation than fighting. The reader must therefore be prepared to find that a large—at first sight a disproportionately large—share of the poems which Mr. Wright edits turn upon questions of war, and that points of constitutional history upon which we would fain find some light thrown are dismissed briefly and almost contemptuously. The complement in the mind of the public to warlike ambition was theology—if the angry railing of priests and Lollards deserves the name of theology; and this occupies considerable space in the volume before us, and will probably occupy more in the subsequent one.

As Mr. Wright has, in his introductory notice, given an analysis of the contents of the more important poems, and has touched upon the minuter points of history which they serve to illustrate, we will here confine ourselves to a more general view of their character. The extent to which the lust of warfare has influenced modern civilization has, for the most part, obtained less consideration than it deserves. It has been frequently said that there is in the races of Northern Europe a spirit of individual independence and self-assertion which did not exist in ancient Greece or Rome, and to this peculiarity the fighting tendencies and chivalrous habits of mediæval Europeans have been attributed. Whether any of the races of mankind have such innate tendencies, apart from the influence of external circumstances, is a question; but it is in any case hardly to be disputed that there is in this matter something as regards modern notions which has not been adequately explained. It may seem at first that a difficulty of this kind has no real existence. It may be said that, in the first place, the Greeks and Romans were engaged in fighting at least as much as modern States have been; and that, in the second place, the passions and selfishness of mankind sufficiently account for the prevalence of warfare both in the ancient and the modern world. It must, however, be recollected that the mere fact of a State having been frequently engaged in war is not in itself a sufficient proof that its members were of a warlike, as opposed to a merely courageous, disposition; and that Athens and Rome—the two great civilized communities of the ancient world—were, from the peculiarities of their situation, especially liable to attack. On the other hand, a dispassionate comparison of classical and modern literature will lead to the conclusion that our ancestors regarded war with a keener zest and interest than even the Romans, whose military spirit has become almost proverbial. To bear out this assertion it is only necessary to point to the spirit in which Livy and Froissart respectively describe a battle. Livy has always before his eyes the safety and glory of Rome, or the exaltation of some of the great families of Rome. Froissart, on the contrary, sees nothing but the brave knights fighting, and heroic feats are, to him, beautiful in themselves and apart from all ulterior consideration. With the Roman soldier, to fight was a duty—with the knight of the Middle Ages, it was a privilege.

The warlike tendencies of the Christian world would need no explanation if they had become fainter as civilization advanced. Savage nations fight just as wild beasts attack each other, and piratical expeditions were the natural occupation of the hardy tribes who coveted their neighbours' possessions and delighted in the excitement of battle. The traditional tastes, however,

which were thus acquired do not sufficiently account for the deeply-seated passion for war which has influenced Europe down to even our own days. If one of the first converts to Christianity had been questioned as to the ultimate results which he expected from his new religion, he would certainly have replied that when all the civilized world was Christian, men would live at peace with one another. Passages might indeed be pointed out in the New Testament which indicate a different result; but it must have seemed to a sincere believer that the troubles there predicted were temporary, and that when the doctrines of Christianity had met with general recognition men would cease to wage war against one another. Nor is it a sufficient answer that human nature is imperfect, and that the seed fell upon stony ground. The ethics of Christianity differ mainly from those of the heathen world in two respects—first, in inculcating a spirit of meekness and forgiveness of injuries; secondly, in teaching moral purity. It cannot escape any one who will compare the history and literature of modern Europe with the history and literature of the ancient world, that of these two great precepts the one was accepted, and the other rejected. The moral purity of Christendom has presented throughout a marked contrast to the impurity of the ancient world. On the other hand, it has, even up to our own time, been almost impossible for a man to forgive a wrong without incurring the contempt of his fellows.

It would require a volume to discuss at full length the questions which here offer themselves to our consideration. We cannot pretend to investigate further the coincidence or divergence between the law of honour, and the teaching of Christianity, or treat of the various circumstances—some common to all mankind, some peculiar to northern Europe—which helped to fashion mediæval habits and opinion. It must be at any rate conceded that while Christianity did, from the very first, tend to purify both the practice and theory of its converts, it had no effect whatever, for many ages, in rendering them more pacific. There is, however, one point connected with the code of chivalry which mediæval writings generally, and such poems as are contained in the volume before us especially, serve to elucidate, to which it is worth while to call attention. The monkish writers, as is well known, were the first to revive the notion of history in the modern world. For them alone, as M. Guizot has observed, the past and the future possessed any value. Their writings, however, in the majority of instances, instead of taking the form of history proper, took that of religious biography. From Gregory of Tours downwards, we still possess many compositions of this character, and many once existed which have been lost to us. In these works, as was very natural, miracles formed the main ingredient. The monks, though they did not live so entirely in the present as the rude soldiers who surrounded them, had nevertheless not sufficiently cultivated minds to be enabled to transport themselves in imagination to distant times and places, and thus to satisfy their religious instincts by dwelling upon the scenes which the Gospel presented. They required some object of veneration which they could bring home more immediately to their fancy. It thus inevitably happened that, in all parts of the Christian world, different communities made for themselves idols in the shape of popular saints. How far the miracles which were so lavishly attributed to these saints were the product of honest fanaticism, and how far of fraud, it is now impossible to decide. The result, however, was that men generally acquired a rooted habit of demanding overt and immediate signs of the favour of God on all the occasions of life. Just as the reputation of a saint would be endangered if it were admitted that he was unable, when occasion required it, to work a miracle, so a feeling sprung up that the unsuccessful cause must always be a bad one. Such a feeling as this was too much in accordance with the natural passions and instincts of humanity not to spread widely and penetrate deeply. Both nations and individuals learnt to think that, when any dispute arose, not only might they gratify their pride and ambition by asserting to the utmost their own claims, but that to shrink from doing so was to admit a guilty conscience, and to lower their character in their own eyes and in those of the rest of the world. It can hardly be questioned that this notion, though in its definite and original form it had died out, lay at the bottom of the practice of duelling which so long lingered in modern society. It may seem at first that experience must have soon dispelled so false a notion, but in such cases it is easy to adapt experience to theory. When a rebel to the Church, like John Lackland, Frederick II., or Manfred, failed, all the world was edified by the spectacle of God's judgment upon a sinner. When the unhappy marriages of the three sons of Philip the Fair could not be explained by any crimes of their own, Villani is careful to point out how the sins of the father had been visited on the heads of his children. When an illustrious saint like Louis IX. was utterly defeated in a pious undertaking like a crusade, he was the first to exclaim that the disappointment was no more than the shortcomings of himself and his subjects had justly incurred, and so admirable an authority of course silenced all murmurs. With a superstition such as this at work against them, it cannot excite surprise that the lessons of forgiveness and the exhortations to peace contained in the New Testament fell upon heedless ears. Other accidental circumstances, such as the crusading furor, helped to sanctify in the eyes of mankind the taste for fighting, and it is impossible to study the literature of the Middle Ages without admitting that the imperfect knowledge of a peaceful religion had done much to cherish the spirit of war, instead of producing

the fruits which might not unnaturally have been expected from it. The doctrine that right and might are inseparable is explicitly recognised in these politico-military poems of the fourteenth century; and no one can contemplate the connexion which they reveal between the fantastic credulity of the first ignorant monks and the hostilities and duels of modern Europe without seeing a remarkable illustration of the way in which errors, apparently the most innocent, may produce the most baneful results. Traces of the belief that a good cause is likely to secure victory are doubtless to be found in all ages; but it is to the ignorant and superstitious theory of God's way of dealing with men which the Church of Rome introduced, that must be attributed the distinct and explicit application of the test of worldly success in all the ordinary affairs of life.

The theological poems are in many respects very interesting. They do not, indeed, afford us much specific information as to the origin and progress of the Lollard party; but they help to carry the mind back to the state of feeling which existed in England far better than any historical description can do. The general charges which the Reformers brought against the Church, and the Church against the Reformers, are such as have been frequently repeated. The members of the established system are accused of avarice, indolence, and licentiousness; and they retaliate against the innovators with the cry of heresy and insubordination. In spite, however, of the broad similarity which all controversies of this kind present to each other, something peculiar to each separate occasion may generally be discerned, if the writers of the period are carefully examined. In the fourteenth century it would seem that the rapid corruption which had infected the mendicant orders was the main source of the revolt of popular feeling against the established system. The formation of these orders was in itself an attempted reformation, but it was a reformation attempted under the auspices of the Pope. It appears that men saw in the failure of this attempt a marked sign that no good was to be looked for from Rome. Asceticism was still accounted a virtue; miraculous pretensions still met with general acceptance; yet so steeped in iniquity was the Church, that even St. Francis and St. Dominic had failed in the ends which they had proposed to themselves in the introduction of their orders. It is remarked in one of the poems in the volume before us, that the monks and the friars had combined together to oppose the cause of truth. No Protestant of the present day, in attacking the errors of Romanism, thinks of making any distinction between the various orders which are subservient to the Papacy; but this was not always the case. Each order as it rose proposed to itself a particular mission, and was regarded by laymen with interest and hope; and the falling away of the mendicants from the high ideal with which they had set out excited in a special manner the indignation of mankind, and was received as a symptom that the Church of Rome was not of God.

Mr. Wright's copious preface makes it, as we have already said, superfluous to give any detailed notice of the contents of the volume. It cannot, it is perhaps needless to remark, be called popular or easy reading. Those of the poems which are not in old English are in that most abominable of languages, monkish Latin of the very worst kind. One short description in elegiac verse of the manners of the French and English deserves honourable exception, as written with great spirit and some elegance. In the more strictly political poems, the difficulty is much increased by an affectation of oracular obscurity. This style Mr. Wright attributes to the writer's desire to screen himself from the anger of the persons implicated. Possibly this feeling may have been the cause, in some measure, of the peculiarity in question; but it seems to us that it may be more naturally attributed to that love of mystification which we find in all half-civilized nations. If the allusions were sufficiently clear to be intelligible, an angry nobleman would not trouble himself about legal evidence in wreaking his vengeance upon the obnoxious poet. On the other hand, we always find in the literature of a rude period a deliberate tendency to obscurity and prolixity. The men of action do not, in such times, trouble themselves about literature at all, while the recluse has more time upon his hands than he can well occupy, and is pleased rather than otherwise by finding puzzles upon which to exercise his ingenuity. A modern likes to have the news of the day compressed into a leading article. In the Middle Ages men were not so busy, and were attracted by ambiguous sentences.

BYE-LANES AND DOWNS OF ENGLAND.*

THIS book was published in 1849, and the third edition of it appeared in the autumn of last year. As it is a very favourable specimen of its class, and as the subjects with which it deals are now beginning to claim with returning spring their accustomed share of public interest, we cannot do better than turn over its pages to select a few of the many features of races and racing men which are agreeable, and we think truthfully, represented in it. The matter of the book, it must be owned, is, most of it, ten years old. But we fear that the villainies perpetrated on the "downs" have changed as little during that interval as have the rustic charms of the "bye-lanes" through which the author travelled to the scenes of sport. As riches

* *The Bye-lanes and Downs of England*. With Turf Scenes and Characters. By Sylvanus. Third Edition, revised. London: Bentley. 1859.

multiply, gambling is certain to increase also; and probably the statistics which show the growth of profitable manufactures and commerce during the last ten years might easily be extended so as to prove that trade of a less desirable character has expanded in at least an equal ratio.

We are introduced, in the first chapter, to one who was, in his time, a very important personage—the well-known Northern jockey, William Scott. "Bill was then in his palmy days." He had won innumerable great races, and was wealthy, sound in nerve and judgment, and kept a hospitable house at York. We may say of this late distinguished rider, and of his brother, John Scott, who is still equally eminent as a trainer, that their success was achieved and has been maintained by the persevering use of qualities which would have commanded a fortune in almost any line of active life to which taste or accident might have originally turned their energies. William Scott had a thorough knowledge of the race-horse, and consummate judgment in making use of him. He had also during his best days unflinching nerve. To lead in front of twenty horses when a fall would be almost surely fatal, is a trial which some of the most finished jockeys would prefer to decline, if possible. William Scott had no such weakness. He was perfectly calm in the most exciting and dangerous moments of a race—calm enough to make the very best of his own chance, and to "chaff" his brother jockeys as he snatched from them the victory upon which they had too soon counted. An example of his style is given in the following anecdote—one out of many which have been preserved of him by the zealous admiration of "Sylvanus," and other sporting writers. The scene is the St. Leger course, and the hero of it is on the winner "Satirist," who beat "Coronation," ridden by John Day:—

Bill, who was a terrible talker and swearer in a race, coming up at the Red House, hollod to Nat to shove out of the way from "Coronation's" quarter, and let him have a cut at him. And when he saw he had old John Day fairly beaten, about a stride from home, he had still colloquial powers left to inquire, grinning at him facetiously—"Does he pull you now, John? I think not."

But the author owns that Bill Scott's firm nerve was sometimes a little shaken by the magnitude of his own stake. Thus, he had ridden a dead-heat for the Derby, and it was thought that his failure in the deciding heat was partly owing to his having some ten thousand pounds depending on it. In another year he had to ride off a tie at Doncaster, and here "money was no object," for he had hedged a portion of the great stake he had upon the horse he rode, so as to win a handsome sum whatever the result of the race—or, as he himself expressed it, "he had put a little on Prudence, a careful old animal got by Holdfast out of Careful"—and so, his nerve being unimpaired, he won the deciding heat.

We meet, however, in these pages with many characters which contrast very unfavourably with William Scott's, and many actions are described in which he certainly would have borne no part. The modern student of the turf may here read how "Ratan," a splendid animal, with temper, form, and every essential for success, was "made safe" the very evening before the Derby. And here is a scene in the betting-room at Newmarket the night before the two thousand guineas were won by "Meteor." One of the actors in it is "a racing star of the first magnitude," who had been boots at an hotel at Manchester, and whose first operations on the turf had been performed with a pea and thimble. "The bet he is taking is a flash one, he being in hopes of sending the horse back in the betting thereby, when both he and the taker of his odds will back him through their commissioner." The horse here mentioned was "Meteor," who was destined to win next day under the guidance of William Scott. "Meteor" was by no means a first-rate animal, but the lot he had to run against were worse, making it a "good thing" for those who were in the secret, and ventured to act upon it, as the personage above introduced was doing. He and his confederates would first make flash bets openly against the horse, and, having thus raised the market odds against him, they would secretly back him—so as, in case of his winning, as he did, to get the benefit of the increased odds. The author's guide to the mysteries of Newmarket is supposed to say to him, "Bill is to warm him ('Meteor') up by a brisk mile spin before he starts, and says himself he will pull through. I never knew Bill Scott tell a friend an untruth, when he had the right to give him information." Of course this sort of thing is safe and easy to write after the event, which is thus described,—"Meteor appeared leading, though lifted every stride, and most scientifically punished by Black Bill." Nevertheless, it is proved by many instances that the brothers Scott well deserved, both for sagacity and uprightness, all the praise that is bestowed on them in this book. And there are some other persons too, who are sketched quite as fairly, although they make rather unpleasant portraits. In the very same page, we meet a "flash Nazarene," duly accredited at the Corner, and accounting for the fact by saying himself, "that if the common hangman were in the ring and squared up—especially if he laid or took a point more or less than the current odds, he would pass muster." Another betting-man was asked by the author whether he thought Tawell, the murderer, would be executed, so many having been reprieved, and he answered by the question—"Will you back the field?" adding, "that he had made a little book on a few 'hanging-matches,' having put a London murderer, a Liverpool condemned-cell, a York affair, and the old Quaker into a sweep, and he was not quite 'round.'" Two other members of the fraternity went to see Good the murderer hanged, and ob-

serving the chaplain reading to him, one said to the other, that "he supposed they were 'comparing,' and that Good was 'hedging his stake.'" It was one of this discerning couple who under a supposed exigency of dinner conversation, put to the Bishop of London the famous question, "How long he *really* thought it would take to get Nebuchadnezzar into fair condition after bringing him up from grass?" These are examples of the gambling mania, strong upon those who are or were gentlemen. Another chapter contains specimens of a more formidable class—men who "could give weight to Satan himself in a handicap." One is pointed out by the author as respectable. "Respectable," answers his informant,—"it's his d—d respectability that does us, and gets his mug over the stable-door. You would as soon suspect a bishop as him, to look at him." Another is remarkable for his mode of enjoying his money when he gets it:—

He sometimes "throws in," when you'll see the creaker with three white pocket-handkerchers, and a posy he's perhaps given two bob for. I see him worry a whole quarter of lamb, and a cowcumber a foot long for his lunch, and stout. They turned him away from the Forkin, at York, after having him wonst. Britain begged he would give him a chance, and take turn and turn about with the other hins.

Both the matter and the dialect of the above description are, in their way, admirable, and we could not choose a better sample of this amusing and by no means uninteresting little volume. The pictures of rascality which it contains have such a real aspect that they can scarcely fail to be of some use as warnings to adventurers on the turf—at least, we should feel more hope from them than from the slight domestic drama, which is interwoven with the main purpose of the book, and which, of course, is duly brought to a disastrous issue in the last chapter.

Setting aside this underplot, one main purpose, or at least result, of the book is to sing the deserved praises of the horse of Scott. We have seen the author, in the first chapter, smoking a pipe with "Black Bill," at York, and have heard him tell how the North-country horses were trained and ridden by the accomplished and trusty brothers. He also notices, in a chapter devoted to famous jockeys, the death of the same William Scott, and pays a warm tribute to his memory. The last three or four chapters are occupied with Epsom races, and their tragical effect in breaking up a picturesque home. And here, again, we find William Scott riding "Cotherstone," the winner of the Derby. It is rather puzzling to a reader thus to meet, first, a picture of a hero alive and well; then to learn that his prowess afterwards declined; then to see him dead and buried with all due honour; and, lastly, to witness upon Epsom Downs one of the greatest triumphs of the Northern stable gained by the identical "Black Bill" on "Cotherstone in 1843." However, we will not insist further on this blemish, which has crept in, probably, in the second or third edition of the book. We will rather give full credit to the author for having succeeded in putting so much life and vigour into his treatment of that hackneyed subject—Epsom Races. It is true there is an unlucky passage about the final attack at Waterloo, which appears to have been composed under the impression that the French Imperial Guard were mounted, and to have been intended to bring in "the terrors of cavalry in charge" as an illustration of the excitement caused by the words "They're off!" for the all-absorbing Derby. But the description of the jockeys taking their final sweat—or, as they prefer to call it, "walk"—near the inn at Letherhead—of the anxiety which prevailed about the health and safety of the favourite "Cotherstone"—of the confidence of his backers changing for a while to doubt as they thought at one moment of his magnificent form and splendid performance at Newmarket, and at another of the formidable skill and judgment of Lord George Bentinck, who stood to win 160,000*l.* on his own horse "Gaper," and continued taking five to one about him till the last moment, "as blandly as if he were investing in the Three per cents"—all this is so real and spirited that we can afford to undergo the charge of the mounted Imperial Guard with a great degree of equanimity. And then comes the crisis of many fortunes:—

Pulling Bill Scott double, "Cotherstone"—with an inside berth, the race in hand, and closely followed by "Gaper" and such of the field as had survived over the hill—came tearing across the gravel road, causing a whirlwind of dust as they descended the slope, and literally won as he liked.

It is to be hoped that the Derby on which the thoughts of the sporting world now centre may equally deserve description, and may be as well described.

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Payable in advance; but accounts are not presented until the middle of the quarter nor are terms raised after entrance.

The Divisions of the School Year are equal. The Holidays are short—at Christmas and at Midsummer.
For Prospectuses, apply to R. GRIFFIN and Co., West Nile-street, Glasgow, Publishers to the University; and to Stationers' Hall-court, London; or to the Principal,
JOHN YEATS, LL.D., F.R.G.S., &c.

LECTURES TO THE SENIOR CLASSES.

Pupils Free. Strangers, One Guinea each Course.
JANUARY TO MARCH.—A Series of Ten, "On the Physical Features and Natural Productions of Britain, regarded in their Bearing upon History, and in their Relation to the Industry and Commercial Prosperity of the English Nation," by WILLIAM HUGHES, Esq., F.R.G.S.
MARCH TO JUNE.—A Course of Ten, "On Ancient History, illustrated abundantly with Monuments of Industry and Art, Egyptian, Assyrian, Greek, and Roman," by Dr. G. KINKEL, F.R.G.S.

ART-UNION OF LONDON.—Subscription, One Guinea.—
Prizeholders select from the Public Exhibitions. Every Subscriber has a chance of a valuable Prize, and, in addition, receives a VOLUME of THIRTY ENGRAVINGS by W. J. LINTON, from celebrated Pictures by British Artists; together with an impression of a PLATE by F. HOLL, after J. J. JENKINS, entitled "COME ALONG," now ready for delivery. Subscription Lists close first instant.
GEORGE GODWIN, } Hon. Secs.
LEWIS POOCK, }

OXFORD AND CAMBRIDGE MISSION TO CENTRAL AFRICA.

Amount of Donations already received and promised, £7600.
Annual Subscriptions for a term of Five Years or more, £500.
The sum of £25,000, and Annual Subscriptions to the amount of £2500, for at least the period of Five Years, are required.
Further Donations and Subscriptions are earnestly requested, and may be paid to the Account of the Mission, at the Bank of Messrs. HOARE, 57, Fleet-street; or of Messrs. COURTIS, 36, Strand; or at the S. P. G. Office, 79, Pall-mall; or the Venerable Archdeacon MACKENZIE, No. 15, Ashley-place, Victoria-street, S.W.

ORPHAN WORKING SCHOOL, HAVERSTOCK HILL,

near Hampstead, for Children of both Sexes, of all Denominations, and from all parts of the Kingdom. Patron—Her Majesty the QUEEN.
Fifty Orphans are annually admitted into the School. 27 are now under the care of the Charity. 240 can be accommodated when the present building is enlarged. 1915 altogether have been received; of those, 650 since its removal to Haverstock-hill in 1847.
Contributions for the extension of the Charity, and in aid of the general expenses, are respectfully and very earnestly solicited. Annual Governor's Report, £1 1s.; Life Governor, £10 10s. and upwards. For a Subscriber, 10s. 6d. annually; for Life, £25 5s. All the Books and Accounts are open to the inspection of Governors, who, with the Subscribers, elect the Children.
Office, 32, Ludgate-hill, E.C. JOSEPH SOUL, Secretary.

ARTISTS' GENERAL BENEVOLENT INSTITUTION,

for the Relief of Deceased Artists, their Widows, and Orphans: Instituted 1814; incorporated by Royal Charter 1842. Under the immediate protection of Her Most Excellent Majesty the QUEEN.
Patron—His Royal Highness the PRINCE CONSORT, R.G.
President—Sir CHARLES LOCKE EASTLAKE, P.R.A.
The Nobility, Friends, and Subscribers are respectfully informed that the FORTY-FIFTH ANNIVERSARY FESTIVAL will be celebrated in the Freemasons' Hall on SATURDAY NEXT, the 31st inst., the Right Hon. W. E. GLADSTONE, M.P., in the Chair.

STEWARDS.
William E. Bates, Esq. Charles George Lewis, Esq.
Samuel Cartwright, jun., Esq. John Murray, Esq.
Frederick P. Crockerell, Esq. Geo. Bernard O'Neill, Esq.
J. Smollett Donaldson, Esq. James Nicholson, Esq.
James Parker, Esq.
William Gale, Esq. W. Frederick Pollock, Esq.
William Grapel, Esq. Sydney Smirke, Esq., R.A., V.P.
Royell Graves, Esq. Alfred Seymour, Esq.
Robt. Palmer Harding, Esq. Edward Sterling, Esq.
James Lahee, Esq. Calvert Toulmin, Esq.

Dinner on table at Six precisely. The Musical Arrangements under the direction of Mr. Land, assisted by the London Glee and Madrigal Union.
Tickets, £1 1s. each, to be had of the Stewards; of Henry Wyndham Phillips, Esq., Hon. Sec., 41 Gower-street, Hanover-square, W.; and of the Assistant Secretary, 30, Bernard-street, Russell-square, W.C. WILLIAM JOHN ROPER, Assistant Secretary.

CHURCH OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION,

FARM STREET.—THE EXERCISES OF ST. IGNATIUS FOR GENTLEMEN will commence Tuesday, March 27th, and end on Maundy Thursday. Hours each day, Eight A.M. and Half-past Seven P.M. The Meditations will be given by FATHER GALLWEY.
A SPIRITUAL RETREAT FOR LADIES will commence at the CONVENT OF THE HOLY CHILD, 44, Upper Harley-street, on Passion Sunday, and end on Palm Sunday. It will be conducted by Fr. EYRE. Admission by Tickets.

HOLY WEEK.
Tenebrae on Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday, at Four.
Maundy Thursday, High Mass at Eight. General Communion at the close of the Retreat.
Good Friday, High Mass at Eleven. Sermon by Fr. EYRE. Devotions in honour of the Solitude of Our Lady, at Eight P.M.
Holy Saturday, Morning Service at Eight. Meditation at Five P.M.

HYDROPATHY.—THE BEULAH SPA HYDROPATHIC

ESTABLISHMENT, Upper Norwood, opposite with every comfort, within twenty minutes' walk of the Crystal Palace, is OPEN for the reception of Patients and Visitors. The latter can have the advantage, if desired, of a private residence. The site is unrivalled for its healthiness. Particulars of Dr. MITTERMAY, M.D., the Resident Physician.

LONDON FEVER HOSPITAL, ISLINGTON.

ESTABLISHED 1802.—TWO HUNDRED BEDS.
President—The Right Hon. LORD MONTAGUE.
Cases of Fever of every kind, and in all stages of malignity, occurring in the Families of the Poor, or among the Domestic of the Affluent, are received into the Hospital at all hours.
BANDS are PRESSINGLY NEEDED. Money may be paid to the Treasurer, Messrs. HOARE and Co., Fleet-street; or to the Secretary, at the Hospital.

DR. DE JONGH'S

(Knight of the Order of Leopold of Belgium)

LIGHT-BROWN COD LIVER OIL,

Prescribed, in consequence of its immeasurable superiority over every other kind, as the safest, speediest, and most effectual remedy for
CONSUMPTION, BRONCHITIS, ASTHMA, COUGHS, RHEUMATISM, GOUT, GENERAL DEBILITY, DISEASES OF THE SKIN, RICKETS, INFANTILE WASTING, AND ALL SCROFULOUS AFFECTIONS.

From "THE ASSOCIATION MEDICAL JOURNAL."

"No man has given so much attention to the analysis of Cod Liver Oil as Dr. DE JONGH. He has now undertaken himself to ensure a constant supply of the most powerful and genuine Cod Liver Oil for medicinal purposes. Such an undertaking appears to have a strong claim on the encouragement of the profession, who are certainly much interested in obtaining a purer article than those which are now so marvellously cheap in the market."

Sold ONLY in IMPERIAL Half-pints, 2s. 6d.; Pints, 4s. 6d.; Quarts, 6s., capensis, and labelled with DR. DE JONGH'S signature, WITHOUT WHICH NONE CAN POSSIBLY BE GENUINE, by respectable Chemists.

SOLE AGENTS,
ANSAR, HARFORD, AND CO., 77, STRAND, LONDON, W.C.

GEOLOGY AND MINERALOGY.—Elementary Collections,

which greatly facilitate the study of these interesting branches of Science, can be had at 2s. 6d., 3s., 5s., 10s., 15s., 20s., 30s., 40s., 50s., 60s., 70s., 80s., 90s., 100s., 120s., 150s., 200s., 250s., 300s., 350s., 400s., 450s., 500s., 550s., 600s., 650s., 700s., 750s., 800s., 850s., 900s., 950s., 1000s., 1100s., 1200s., 1300s., 1400s., 1500s., 1600s., 1700s., 1800s., 1900s., 2000s., 2100s., 2200s., 2300s., 2400s., 2500s., 2600s., 2700s., 2800s., 2900s., 3000s., 3100s., 3200s., 3300s., 3400s., 3500s., 3600s., 3700s., 3800s., 3900s., 4000s., 4100s., 4200s., 4300s., 4400s., 4500s., 4600s., 4700s., 4800s., 4900s., 5000s., 5100s., 5200s., 5300s., 5400s., 5500s., 5600s., 5700s., 5800s., 5900s., 6000s., 6100s., 6200s., 6300s., 6400s., 6500s., 6600s., 6700s., 6800s., 6900s., 7000s., 7100s., 7200s., 7300s., 7400s., 7500s., 7600s., 7700s., 7800s., 7900s., 8000s., 8100s., 8200s., 8300s., 8400s., 8500s., 8600s., 8700s., 8800s., 8900s., 9000s., 9100s., 9200s., 9300s., 9400s., 9500s., 9600s., 9700s., 9800s., 9900s., 10000s.

WEDDING AND BIRTHDAY PRESENTS.—

H. RODRIGUES, 42, PICCADILLY, invites attention to his elegant Stock of TRAVELLING BAGS, Writing Cases, DESPATCH BOXES, Jewel Cases, ETC., and CARRIAGE BAGS in great variety. MEDIALVAL MOUNTED ENVELOPE CASES, BLOTTING BOOKS, and INKSTANDS on sale; also, a new and elegant Case of choice Cutlery, Work, Netting, and Glove Boxes. The new PATENT SELF-CLOSING BOOK-SLIDE, also a choice variety of ELEGANCES and NOVELTIES suitable for PRESENTATION too various to enumerate, to be had at HENRY RODRIGUES, well-known establishment, 42, PICCADILLY, LONDON, W., two doors from Sackville-street.

SELLING OFF.—DRESSING CASES, DESPATCH

Boxes, Travelling Bags, Writing Cases, Work Boxes, Jewel Cases, Inkstands, Envelope Cases, Blotting Books, Stationery Cases, Superior Cutlery, &c.; also, an Elegant Assortment of Articles suitable for Presents, at very Reduced Prices, previous to Alterations.—The Whole of the Large and Valuable STOCK of Messrs. BRIGGS, 27, Piccadilly, W., next door to St. James's Hall.

BENSON'S WATCHES.

"Perfection of mechanism."—Morning Post.
Gold Watches..... 4 to 100 guineas. Silver Watches..... 2 to 50 guineas.
Send two stamps for Benson's Illustrated Watch Pamphlet. Watches sent free to any part of the Kingdom on receipt of a remittance.—33 and 34, Ludgate-hill, London, E.C.

BENNETT'S WATCHES, 65 and 64, Cheapside, in Gold

and Silver, in great variety, of every construction and price, from Three to Sixty Guineas. Every watch skilfully examined, and its correct performance guaranteed. Free and safe per post.
Money Orders to JOHN BENNETT, Watch Manufacturer, 65 and 64, Cheapside.

HANDSOME BRASS AND IRON BEDSTEADS.—HEAL

and SON'S SHOW ROOMS contain a large assortment of Brass Bedsteads, suitable both for home use and for tropical climates; Handsome Iron Bedsteads with brass mountings and elegantly japanned; Plain Iron Bedsteads for servants; every description of Wood Bedstead that is manufactured, in mahogany, birch, walnut-tree woods, polished deal and japanned, all fitted with bedding and furniture complete, as well as every description of Bed-room Furniture.

HEAL AND SON'S ILLUSTRATED CATALOGUE,

containing Designs and Prices of 100 Bedsteads, as well as of 150 different Articles of Bed-room furniture, sent free by post.—HEAL and SON, Bedstead, Bedding, and Bed-room Furniture Manufacturers, 100, Tottenham Court-road, W.

WILLIAM SMEE and SONS, CABINET MANUFACTURERS, UPHOLSTERERS, and BEDDING WAREHOUSEMEN, 4, Pine-bur-pavement, London, E.C., respectfully announce that they are making, and have nearly completed, very considerable additions to their already large premises, in order to give increased accommodation to their Department for Bed-room Furniture and Bedding generally, and to allow of their adding largely to their Stock of Iron and Brass Bedsteads.

They have also prepared for the use of their Customers and the Public a NEW BOOK OF DESIGNS (with prices) of IRON and BRASS BEDSTEADS, together with REDUCED LISTS OF PRICES OF BEDDING, which they will be glad to forward upon application.

WILLIAM SMEE and SONS respectfully urge upon intending Purchasers the great advantage of a personal selection, and ask the favour of a call to inspect their Stock.

February, 1860.

BANK OF DEPOSIT (ESTABLISHED A.D. 1844),

3, Pall Mall East, London.—CAPITAL STOCK, £100,000.
Parties desirous of investing money are requested to examine the plan of the Bank of Deposit, by which a high rate of interest may be obtained with ample security.
Deposits made by special agreement may be withdrawn without notice.
The interest is payable in January and July.

PETER MORRISON, Managing Director.

Forms for opening accounts sent free on application.

TO INVESTORS.—CONSOLS CAPITAL STOCK is a medium for employing and improving Large or Small Sums of Money in connection with Government Securities. The Stock is issued by the Consols Insurance Association, 429, Strand, London. Incorporated Pursuant to Act of Parliament. Investments bear Five per Cent. per Annum Interest, receivable Monthly, if desired.
Full particulars may be obtained on application at the Chief Offices, 429, Strand, London, to

THOMAS H. BAYLIS, Managing Director.

LAW LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY.

FLEET-STREET, LONDON, March 1st, 1860.

NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN, that the BOOKS for the TRANSFER of SHARES in this Society are CLOSED, and will be open on Wednesday, the 11th day of April next.
The Dividend for the year 1859 will be payable on and after Monday, the 9th day of April next.

By Order of the Directors,

WILLIAM SAMUEL DOWNES, Actuary.

IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

1, OLD BROAD STREET, LONDON.—INSTITUTED 1820.

DIRECTORS.

FREDERICK PATTON, Esq., Chairman.
JAMES BRAND, Esq., Deputy Chairman.
Thomas George Barclay, Esq.
James C. C. Bell, Esq.
Charles Cave, Esq.
George William Cottam, Esq.
George Henry Cutler, Esq.
Henry Davidson, Esq.
George Field, Esq.
George Hubert, Esq.
Samuel Hubert, Esq.
Thomas Newman Hunt, Esq.
James Gordon Murdoch, Esq.
William E. Robinson, Esq.
Martin Tucker Smith, Esq., M.P.
Newman Smith, Esq.

SECURITY.—The assured are protected from the liabilities attaching to mutual assurance by a fund of a million and a half sterling, of which nearly a million is actually invested, one-third in Government Securities, and the remainder in first-class debentures and mortgages in Great Britain.

PROFITS.—Four-fifths, or 80 per cent. of the profits are assigned to policies every fifth year. The assured are entitled to participate after payment of one premium.

PURCHASE OF POLICIES.—A liberal allowance is made on the surrender of a policy, either by a cash payment or the issue of a policy free of premium.

CLAIMS.—The Company has disburied in payment of claims and additions upwards of £1,500,000.

Proposals for insurances may be made at the chief office, as above; at the branch office, 16, Pall-mall, London; or to any of the agents throughout the kingdom.

SAMUEL INGALL, Actuary.

* Service allowed in Local Militia and Volunteer Rifle Corps within the United Kingdom.

ALLIANCE BRITISH AND FOREIGN LIFE AND FIRE ASSURANCE COMPANY.—BARTHOLOMEW LANE, LONDON, E.C.

Established 1824.

(Branch Offices: EDINBURGH, IPSWICH, and BURY ST. EDMUNDS.)

Capital, FIVE MILLIONS Sterling.

President—Sir MOSES MONTEFIORE, Bart.

DIRECTORS.

James Alexander, Esq.
Charles G. Barnett, Esq.
George H. Barnett, Esq.
Charles Huxton, Esq., M.P.
Sir George Carter, Esq.
Benjamin Cohen, Esq.
James Fletcher, Esq.
Charles Gibbs, Esq.
William Gladstone, Esq.
Samuel Gurney, Esq., M.P.
James Helme, Esq.
John Irving, Esq.
Sampson Lucas, Esq.
Elliot Macnaghten, Esq.
Thomas Maden, Esq.
Jos. M. Montefiore, Esq.
Sir A. N. de Rothschild, Bart.
Lionel N. de Rothschild, Esq., M.P.
Oswald Smith, Esq.
Thomas Clares Smith, Esq.

LIFE ASSURANCES are granted under an extensive variety of forms, WITH, or WITHOUT PARTICIPATION, and at moderate premiums; the rates for the YOUNGER AGES being lower than those for the OLDER AGES, and with FAVORABLE ADDITIONS then outstanding.

ACTUAL SERVICE RISK within the United Kingdom in VOLUNTEER RIFLE and ARTILLERY CORPS, and in the Militia, is covered by the Company's Policies.

FIRE ASSURANCES both at home and abroad are accepted at very moderate premiums.

The Assured participate in the Fire Profits in respect of Policies in force for five complete years. The Return for the past Quinquennial period is in course of distribution.

FRANCIS A. ENGELBACH, Actuary and Secretary.

* The RECEIPTS for the RENEWAL PREMIUMS due at Lady Day are ready for delivery in Town and throughout the country.

EQUITABLE ASSURANCE OFFICE,

NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS.—ESTABLISHED IN 1762.

The Amount added to the existing Policies for the whole continuance of Life at the decennial division of profits in December last, was ONE MILLION NINE HUNDRED AND SEVENTY-SEVEN THOUSAND POUNDS, making, with FAVORABLE ADDITIONS then outstanding, a total of FOUR MILLIONS AND SEVENTY THOUSAND POUNDS, which amounts to sixty-seven per cent. on the sums originally assured in all those Policies.

The BONUSES paid on claims in the ten years ending on the 31st December, 1859, exceed

THREE MILLIONS AND A HALF.

being more than 100 per cent. on the amount of all those claims.

The CAPITAL, on the 1st November, 1859, was £5,000,000 sterling.

The INCOME exceeds £200,000 per annum.

POLICIES effected in the current year (1860) will PARTICIPATE in the DISTRIBUTION OF PROFITS ordered in DECEMBER LAST, so soon as Six Annual Premiums shall have become due and been paid thereon; and, in the division of 1860, will be entitled to additions in respect of EVERY PREMIUM paid upon them from the years 1861 to 1869, each inclusive.

The EQUITABLE is an entirely mutual Office, in which TWO-THIRDS OF THE CLEAR PROFITS are distributed among the POLICYHOLDERS, and ONE-THIRD RESERVED FOR SECURITY and as an Accumulating Fund, in augmentation of other profits for future periodical distribution.

No extra premium is charged for service in any Volunteer Corps within the United Kingdom, during peace or war.

A WEEKLY COURT OF DIRECTORS is held EVERY WEDNESDAY, from Eleven to One o'clock, to receive proposals for New Assurances; and "a Prospectus" of the Society may be had on application at the Office, where attendance is given daily, from Ten to Four o'clock.

ARTHUR MORGAN, Actuary.

THE CONSERVATIVE LAND SOCIETY.—SHARE

DEPARTMENT.—The present rate of interest payable half-yearly on Shares is five per cent. per annum, with power of withdrawal of subscription at ten days' notice, and participation in any bonus declared above the ordinary interest. No partnership liability.

The taking of land is quite optional.

DEPOSIT DEPARTMENT.—Sums, large or small, may be deposited at the Offices daily. Interest allowed is four per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly. Withdrawals of deposits paid every Wednesday, up to £100; above that at fixed periods. Investors under the deposit Department do not become members of the Society.

Prospectuses free of charge.

CHARLES LEWIS GRUNEISEN, Secretary.

Offices, 33, Norfolk-street, Strand, W. C.

RIFLE CORPS.—THE MATERIALS recommended by

Government MAY BE SEEN at Messrs. NICOLLI, Army Depot, Regent-street, London. As every suit of uniform will be made from measures taken by skilful foremen, gentlemen are requested to call there in preference to making appointments to be waited on at their own homes. Cash payments being required, the best articles are produced for very moderate prices.—H. J. and D. NICOLLI, 114, 116, 118, 120, 142, 144, Regent-street, W.; 22, Cornhill, E.C.; and 10, St. Ann's-square, Manchester.

TO PREVENT A COUGH take one of DR. LOCOCK'S

PULMONIC WAFERS two or three times a-day. They give instant relief and rapid cure of Asthma, Consumption, Coughs, and all Disorders of the Breathing and Lungs. They have a pleasant taste. Price 1s. 1jd., 2s. 6d., and 11s. per box. Sold by all Druggists.

KEATING'S COUGH LOZENGES.—A safe and certain

remedy for Coughs, Colds, Hoarseness, and other Affections of the Throat and Chest. In incipient Consumption, Asthma, &c., they are unfailing. Being free from every hurtful ingredient, they may be taken by the most delicate female or the youngest child. Prepared and Sold in Boxes, 1s. 1jd., and Tins, 2s. 6d., 4s. 6d., and 10s. 6d., each, by THOMAS KEATING, Chemist, &c., 79, St. Paul's Churchyard, London. Retail by all Druggists.

KEATING'S COD LIVER OIL.—The Pale Newfoundland,

pure and tasteless; the Light-Brown, cheaper and of good quality. The demand for these oils, most highly recommended for their medicinal properties, has so greatly increased that Mr. Keating, being anxious to bring them within the reach of all classes, now imports direct, the Pale from Newfoundland, and the Brown from the Norwegian Islands. The Pale may be had in half-pints, 1s. 6d.; pints, 2s. 6d.; and quarts, 4s. 6d. The Light-Brown in pints, 1s. 3d.; quarts, 2s. 1d. 7d. St. Paul's Churchyard.

ALLSOPP'S PALE ALE, recommended by Baron LIEBIG and

all the Faculty, may now be had in the finest condition, direct from the New Brewery at Burton-on-Trent, of Messrs. HARRINGTON PARKER, and CO., who have REDUCED the PRICE of their highly esteemed beverage to

4s. 6d. per dozen, Imperial Pints.

2s. 6d. " Imperial Half-pints.

Messrs. HARRINGTON PARKER, and Co. also supply Allsopp's Ale in Casks of 15 Gallons and upwards.

54, Pall Mall, S.W., 31st December, 1859.

SALT AND CO., EAST INDIA PALE AND BURTON

ALE BREWERS, BURTON-ON-TRENT.

STORES.

London..... Hungerford Wharf, Sheffield..... 12, George-street.
Liverpool..... 73, Henry-street, Bristol..... 10, Stephen-street.
Manchester..... 37, Brown-street, Newcastle-on-Tyne..... Manor Chare.
Birmingham..... Old Court House, High-street, Dublin..... 11, Temple-lane.

N.B.—Salt and Co.'s Ales may be obtained in glass from the principal Bottlers in the Kingdom, a List of whom will be supplied by their Agents on application.

REDUCTION OF THE WINE DUTIES.

THE OXFORD SHERRY, 30s. per dozen, bottles included.—

CADIZ WINE COMPANY, 66, St. James's-street, London. N.B.—Carriage free.

JAMES L. DENMAN, Wine Merchant, and Introducer of the

South African Wines, 65, FENCHURCH STREET, LONDON, E.C.

The recent reduction of the Customs tariff enables me to offer various European Wines and Spirits hitherto excluded by the operation of high duties at the following scale of prices:—

SOUTH AFRICAN WINES.

The established reputation of these Wines renders comment unnecessary.

PORTS, SHERRIES, &c. &c. 20s. 24s. per dozen.

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Sir ARCHIBALD ISLAY CAMBBELL, Bart., One of the Extraordinary Directors, in the Chair.

A Report by the Directors was read, in which the following results were communicated:—

FIRE DEPARTMENT.

The PREMIUMS received during the year 1859, amounting, deducting Re-Insurances, to £35,332 10 5
Being £4,986 14s. above the Receipts of last year.

LIFE DEPARTMENT.

605 NEW POLICIES had been issued, Assuring the sum of £449,913 0 0

And paying of ANNUAL PREMIUMS £14,070 1 6
Being a considerable increase above any former year.

The amount of CLAIMS under Policies emerged by death, was £48,650 0 0

In the ANNUITY BUSINESS, 26 Bonds had been granted, for which was received the sum of £19,073 17 3

The ACCUMULATED FUND now amounts to £1,031,454 0 0

And the ANNUAL REVENUE to £179,083 11 11

This being the FIFTIETH ANNIVERSARY, the Directors submitted a Vidimus of the Transactions of the Company since its establishment in 1809, which exhibited the following results:—

FIRE BUSINESS.

There had been received in Premiums.

			ANNUAL AVERAGE.
From 1809 to 1819, the sum of	£33,627 0 0	.....	£3,362 14 10
1819 to 1829, do.	59,101 1 11	.....	5,910 2 2
1829 to 1839, do.	79,645 9 10	.....	7,964 10 11
1839 to 1849, do.	198,578 8 1	.....	19,857 16 9
1849 to 1859, do.	272,139 18 0	.....	27,213 19 10

In 1859 the Premiums received amounted to £35,332 10s. 5d.

During the whole period of 50 years there had been paid to the Public for Damage by Fire, £471,577 18s. 4d.

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There had been issued from 1823, when the business was commenced,

	POLICIES.	SUMS ASSURED.	POLICIES.	ANNUAL AVERAGE.
to 1833	1081	£1,033,444 0 0	108	£103,344 0 0
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In five years, from 1853 to 1857	1986	1,384,741 0 0	397	276,948 0 0
In 1858, 445 Policies were issued, Assuring the sum of				£377,425
In 1859, 605 do. do. do.				449,913

That the Company had paid to the Representatives of deceased Assurers £1,346,465; and had allocated to Policies as Bonuses out of the Profits, the sum of £643,956 2s. 11d.

On the motion of the CHAIRMAN, seconded by G. WARRENDER, Esq., younger of Lochend, the Report was unanimously approved of, and the usual Dividend of Eight per Cent. on the Paid up Capital of the Company declared, free of Income-tax, payable on Monday, the 2nd April next.

The Thanks of the Meeting were then voted to the Local Boards and Agents, and also to the Directors.

The Extraordinary and Ordinary Directors were then elected; and on the motion of LORD VISCOUNT MELVILLE, the Thanks of the Meeting were voted to the Chairman.

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